

THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
GENDER IDEOLOGY AND CONSUMPTION IN 19TH CENTURY
EAST CENTRAL INDIANA

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Chapter 1 Introduction

"We are putting city airs on now," these are the words of Thomas Neely on January 1st, 1889. In this passage of his diary Thomas is discussing the new mail delivery service Muncie, Indiana was beginning, but it speaks to the larger differences that had begun to be felt between Muncie and its surrounding rural villages and farms in recent decades.

In the aftermath of the American Civil War (1861-1865) the United States was experiencing a new period of growth both economically and socially that was felt throughout the Midwest. This growth was the result of industrialization spreading rapidly and British Victorianism influencing Americans across the country.

Industrialization provided a new way of life for many people. It was no longer necessary to practice subsistence farming at a household level, families were now moving to growing urban centers to create a new middle class, white-collar work force and to work for wages in factories. This new system of living began to create a dichotomy of rural and urban. The new cities of Chicago and Indianapolis grew quickly in the mid-nineteenth century with smaller cities such as Muncie experiencing similar growth slightly later in time. This left large swaths of rural hinterland just outside city limits where life was not changing quite as quickly.

The idea of this dichotomy in the Victorian middle-class has not been substantially studied. Instead many discuss the period as characterized by a sweeping culture that encompassed all who lived during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Often large cities, such as New York, that were cultural centers, came to be seen as the archetype for all cities across the country, filled with people who could see clear distinctions between city and country. But in smaller cities, such as Muncie, Indiana, the strict difference between who is in the city and who

is in rural lands may not have always been as clear. The aims of this thesis are to extract the differences between rural and urban middle-class culture and ideology during the Victorian period in east central Indiana, and to affect how they affected the choices made, often by women, about their households and families.

Archaeologists through the years have called for increased study of the Victorian middle-class and the rural and urban dichotomy that can be seen within the period, but most existing studies only examine either urban or rural sites, with small comparisons made to generalizations of the opposite that do not necessarily reflect that particular region (Adams 1993; Fitts 1999; Klein 1991; Nickolai 2003). In this study four families in multi-generational homes are examined equally to explore the similarities and differences between their ideological and cultural identities.

The Huddleston and Bronnenberg families were rural families who lived outside of mid-sized cities throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, passing down their family home through several generations. Each family was large and stayed close through the generations, with each subsequent generation continuing to engage in family farming. The Neely and Moore families were two families that lived in urban Muncie, both families arrived before Muncie became a booming city and were part of the growth witnessed in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Both urban families were smaller than their rural counterparts but stayed close as well, staying in the same home through generations. These four families are representative of the population of east central Indiana and the larger Midwest, as each of the four were in the large and growing middle class that had recently emerged. Each are explored and analyzed throughout this research to best understand the complexities of life in the Midwest

during the American Victorian period through archaeology, historical research, and architectural history.

Three key components of each family have been analyzed to explore the nuances of culture and ideology in both rural and urban Victorian America: architecture, material culture, and landscape. These are three primary areas that involve individual choice that create an image of a family and their belief in Victorian culture and ideology.

Chapter 2 will introduce the theoretical approach used in this research and the methodologies used. I not only use archaeological methods to answer questions but take an interdisciplinary approach to best understand the context in which the four families were living.

Chapter 3 goes into greater depth of what Victorianism is and how it impacted household decision making in the nineteenth century through social conventions and ideology. It also discusses the trends associated with the period and how they influenced family dynamics within the home.

Chapter 4 explores each family and the areas they lived in, discussing their backgrounds and bringing them a little more to life as individuals. This is done by using historical records such as diaries, memoirs, photos, and other documents left behind by each family.

Chapter 5 summarizes the archaeological work previously conducted that is the basis for this research. Additionally, this chapter digs into the families' probates, a source of information that compliments the archaeological data.

Chapter 6 is an analysis of the changing architecture, material culture, landscapes of each family's home and property. Each site has a unique mixture of source material that can be used together to create an analysis comparable across each of the four sites.

Chapter 7 looks at the general differences between each family. This includes their social lives, education, family life, and economics. Additionally, this chapter discusses the data analyzed in chapter 6, to better understand the similarities and differences between rural and urban life seen in these families.

Chapter 8 concludes the study and summarizes the findings gathered through this thesis.

Chapter 2 Theory and Methods

The aim of this study is to provide a comprehensive look at the lives of individuals and how they fit into the culture of the Victorian Age in the Midwest and America. Gender was a major consideration of all aspects of life during the Victorian period and as such became a focal point of this research, making feminist theory the best framework to use. This theoretical perspective is important for best understanding the complexities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the intersection of identities that were integral to belonging in Victorian society.

Feminist theory

Gender discourse in anthropology grew out of a feminist movement in reaction to men often being the primary focus in ethnography and dominating the field of anthropology. There was a push to explore women and their roles in cultures around the world. Sherry Ortner first began considering women and gender in 1972. Her work began a discussion about women's roles within society and how the modern gender dichotomy of men and women came to be (1972). This was an early attempt to explore gender as a social construct, while previous anthropologists had primarily considered gender in the same terms as sex. Ortner's work was reprinted two years later in a compilation created in 1974 titled *Woman, Culture & Society*, edited by Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere. This was the first collection of essays exploring women and gender in anthropology.

A second collection edited by Rayna R. Reiter followed the next year and contained an article by Gayle Rubin. Rubin's work the sex/gender systems that have influenced how

anthropologists think about sex and gender in relation to one another (1975). Sex/gender systems are the way a culture transforms biological differences (sex) into social differences (gender), which can be renegotiated by the culture. The differentiation of genders is often a reflection of the division of labor and gender definitions and divisions will be different depending upon the culture (Rubin 1975). This work is the basis for understanding that gender is a cultural construct and not a universality.

Several collections followed this and further pushed discussions of gender, with a focus on women, into mainstream anthropology. These early explorations of women often highlighted their subordinate position and ties to domestic life with little consideration for their own agency beyond that. Early anthropologists interested in women were often interested in the political aspect of women and their power as part of the contemporary women's movement (Lewin 2006: 10).

The next movement within feminism and anthropology was that led by black feminists in the 1980s. Out of the black feminist movement Kimberle Crenshaw introduced the term 'intersectionality' in 1989. Intersectionality is the connectedness between categories such as race, class, and gender that all form individual identities. Using an intersectional approach to gender means to understand that gender is not the summation of identity. Other considerations must to be incorporated to understand and individuals lived experience. Soon this concept was incorporated into anthropology and archaeology in considerations of gender, race, and class.

As was mentioned above, gender is the construction of a set of values, resulting in culturally specific meanings attached to characteristics such as masculine or feminine (Sorenson 2000: 52). This is further complicated by intersectional identities, the values have different cultural meanings to different class or racial groups. Gender is fluid and moves beyond the

traditional dichotomy of man and woman it is associated with. All of this results in the complexities of gender identities, relations, ideologies, and politics through time (Sorenson 2000: 52). This is the difficult definition that anthropologists and archaeologists must negotiate within their research. This is one of the main points of feminist theory within this study, as is explored later only a certain intersection of women were part of the ideology studied here, primarily those that were white and middle-class, though this study does not explore how those that were middle-class and African-American in the region may have also adhered to the ideology.

The archaeological consideration of gender began slightly later than in cultural anthropology. The first major publication of gender in archaeology was by Margaret Conkey and Jane Spector in 1984. Their article was concerned not with what gender was, but with how gender beliefs affected how archaeology was done. Their article was the beginning of the feminist critique of archaeology. The early feminist critique of archaeology focused on androcentrism in archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1984:3-4). Here we can see the influence of the slightly earlier movement in cultural anthropology on archaeology:

To some extent, the male-centered or androcentric bias in archaeology reflects the dependence upon, if not the actual “tyranny” of, the ethnographic record in structuring archaeological work... (Conkey and Spector 1984: 3).

By recognizing the link between ethnography and archaeology they are also recognizing the problematic androcentric biases present in both (Conkey and Spector 1984: 5). This began a feminist movement within archaeology, starting with prehistoric archaeology.

The feminist movement within archaeology had two branches, the feminist critique of the field, which included examining who was doing archaeology and how, and the beginning of gender archaeology. The feminist critique of archaeology was led by Conkey, Spector, and Joan Gero. Gero published studies about the practices of fieldwork and publishing, which highlighted the androcentric biases within the field (Gero 1983, 1985, 1988, 1994).

The feminist critique of archaeology, as defined by Alison Wylie, has two parts to it (1997). There are equity critiques, which follow the work of Gero, concerned with the bureaucracy in archaeology regarding gender. These type of critiques follow more closely the early feminist movement in anthropology that had a political aspect and deal with who is citing whom, who is receiving funding, and who is doing fieldwork. It is the recognition of women having been marginalized within the field (Wylie 1997:83). The second critique is a content critique. Content critique points to problems in knowledge attainment in archaeology, the lack of consideration for gender and women in research questions and site analysis (Wylie 1997: 81).

These feminist critiques led to feminist theory beginning to be applied into archaeological work, though Conkey notes that feminist theory has not also been actively engaged in gender research in archaeology (2003: 870). Part of feminist theory is recognizing the problematic nature of the term 'gender' (Conkey 2003: 869). Often archaeologists can get caught up in 'discovering' women and ignore the societal relationships that created the gender they are part of and can require the use of other social sciences to fully explore women and gender in their archaeological context.

Feminist approaches to archaeology does not mean to solely focus in on women through time. A feminist approach has multiple goals within archaeological research today. One goal has been clear from the very beginning and was discussed by Spector and Conkey (1984). That goal

is to make women visible within the archaeological record, to consider their agency. This goal has been accomplished well, according to Conkey, in the years since she and Spector first published, but continues to be a necessary consideration in research (2003: 869). A second goal of a feminist approach to archaeology evaluate the tools of archaeology for modern gender biases. Much of the categorizations used and theories developed are done through the lens of the modern gender dichotomies. The standard models of households, subsistence, and technology used within archaeology have been and should continue to be analyzed to determine their accuracy and usefulness once biases are reconsidered. This leads into a third goal of the feminist approach, contextualizing gender within its time and place (Conkey 2003: 869). This third goal is why feminist theory is used in this study, as gender was a large part of shaping Victorian life. White middle-class women were often the domestic purchasing decision makers in their homes. While before they had been actively participating in domestic or farming production, which began to change by the mid-nineteenth century as any production began to be relegated primarily to men. Now middle-class women everywhere took a central role in their families consumption of goods, which often put them in public display as many of the decisions related to Victorianism were for public display. While other women continued to be involved in production outside of the home as teachers, factory workers, and secretaries, those who were white and middle-class found themselves primarily in the home.

Methods

The methods utilized in this study were chosen to best understand how gender and regional affiliation affect the level of adherence to a Victorian culture and ideology. Archaeological, architectural, landscape, and ethnohistorical methods have all been used to best explore the lives of the middle-class in east central Indiana.

Gender archaeology

During the nineteenth century individuals were associated with specific gender ideology. The most commonly associated ideology during the mid to late 19th century is ‘the cult of domesticity’. This ideology was a way for women to negotiate their identity within a patriarchal society and were instrumental in influencing many daily decisions of women, because of this there is a need to study ideology to create a clearer understanding of the material culture of Victorian America.

Beginning in the nineteenth century women began to have more control over the material goods present in their homes and were active consumers. Most household decisions and purchases would have been based on the choice of the women, as they began to be seen as the head of household within the privacy of their homes. This type of consumerism was a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century and created an abundance of material culture in the archaeological record to analyze.

Material culture studies

Historical archaeology provides us with the ability to learn what material goods were used and discarded during the Victorian period. Victorian material culture was not a monolithic cultural phenomenon; socio-economic status was a divider between multiple types of material cultures during the period. Socio-economic status relies on many criteria including race, ethnicity, wealth, religion, and occupation and variables in these categories can create differences in the material goods left behind. In this sense material goods can be viewed as symbolic of the socio-economic status of those who owned it (Fitts 1999:40-41). This study uses sites of white middle class families who differ only in occupation (white collar versus farmer)

and location (rural versus urban). The material culture of each site is examined as symbolic of the lives lived by these individuals and compared against what has become viewed as the ‘typical’ Victorian middle-class material culture by researchers.

A part of typical middle-class behavior during the Victorian period is increased consumerism, which as stated above was propelled by women and aided in sculpting the public perception of their families. Consumerism can be identified through various methods in the archaeological record and in this study I have employed several of these methods to best understand the consumption trends of each household individually and in relation to one another. The household is the first level at which consumerism must be understood before it can be used in a larger overview (LeeDecker 1994). This is the overarching model for the research conducted and presented here, each household examined individually first and then the data from each compiled into a comparative study.

The first method was calculating the density of discarded material. Mark Groover has advocated for this method as an alternative to analyzing the proportions of material at a site (2014). Artifact density measures the amount of material thrown out and showcases the discard rate of families, which can differ within the same socio-economic group based on factors such as location and occupation. Often studies use quality over quantity to estimate socio-economics, by utilizing artifact density this study starts by using quantity over quality, and then the quality of the ceramics were also considered. Artifact density is calculated by totaling the amount of positive shovel tests and dividing the total artifact count by the number of positive shovel tests. Beyond calculating densities for each site the artifacts were put into South’s artifact groups (South 1977). These groups are used to generally compare the assemblages of each site against each other.

Site density was used in conjunction with analysis based on the ceramic sherd count available for each site. Consideration was given to creating minimum number of vessel counts (MNV) and utilizing that to analyze the sites via Millers CC index (1980; 1991). However the collections used in this thesis were determined to be too fragmentary to yield useful MNV's that could be meaningfully interpreted. As Hull exhibits in her 2007 article a sherd count can be just as data rich, or more so, than an MNV.

Architecture studies

The home and its domestic architecture have long been seen as an extension of the families residing in them and their status. Architecture is often the visible marker of morals, success, and progress (Adams 1993; Clark 1986: xi). Domestic architecture of the Victorian period in particular took on the role of showcasing socio-economics and became an extension of what the ideal family looked like. During the mid-nineteenth century, literature on house plans began to be published rapidly and could be found in pamphlets, magazines, and journals. Not all of the plans were created by professional architects, many amateurs, particularly women, had opinions on the best plan for a house that would benefit those who lived and worked within. By studying how the homes in this study changed through time we can see how the families and their expectations changed through time. Renovations, additions, and decorative changes are all part of understanding how each family conceptualized themselves and their place in society.

Trends within architecture changed frequently, requiring home owners to stay up to date if they wanted to present themselves in the best possible light to their neighbors and community. Victorian architecture most often is associated with the upper-middle class, as is most of Victorian culture. By adapting homes to reflect Victorian styles families are attempting to express an association with the upper-middle class, who were building elaborate Gothic and

Queen Anne style homes at the time. However many families trying to emulate these trends did not have the means to build an entirely new home and instead adapted their existing homes as best they could to mirror the new homes. All of these Victorian architecture trends and the adaptations of older styles has resulted in a plethora of house styles to examine today. Both the exterior and interior of homes were remodeled to stay as up to date with trends as possible through the Victorian Period. Styles that should be noted for this study are Greek revival, Federal, I-House, and Folk Victorian.

An I-house was one of the most common house styles built in the Midwest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An I-house is classified as a folk architecture form. A folk house is one which has no formal plan and is built based on need, often in areas of new settlement (McAlester and McAlester 1988). An I-house is a simple two story dwelling with a two room by two room floor plan.

Other early house styles were Federal, or Adams, and Greek revival. A Federal style house was most popular between 1780 and 1840. This style is denoted by window panes directly above the front door, 6 paned double hung sashed windows, and decorative cornices at the roof line (McAlester and McAlester 1988: 152-154). Greek revival was popular later than the federal style, but still predates the Victorian era, it was the dominant architectural style between 1830 and 1850. This form is most recognizable by the hipped roof, thick trim along the roof, and columns at the front door (McAlester and McAlester 1988: 178-181).

All three of these earlier house forms were possible to renovate and adapt to match a more Victorian esthetic from the exterior. Most commonly the I-house was renovated with the addition of porches and elaborate cornices and spindlework detailing. These renovations to an I-

house led them to be called folk Victorian homes. These types of changes were commonly done between 1870 and 1910 and can be used to track how a household adhered to Victorian trends.

Renovations and additions of the homes in this study were tracked and examined through various methods. The ‘value of improvements’ were recorded as part of land audits and tax forms, these figures changed as renovations and additions were made to homes. A second method is examining Sanborn maps. These were only available for the homes within Muncie, but when available provide detailed information for the house and outbuildings present on the property. Additionally memoirs and other firsthand accounts were available for more than one house that contributes to understanding the home changes.

Landscape studies

A third archaeological methodological approach utilized in this research is landscape studies. Landscape studies has been used in archaeology as its own sub discipline since the 1970’s when Mick Aston and Trevor Rowley first used the term to study Roman archaeology (1974; Bruno and Thomas 2008). It began to gain popularity in the mid 1980’s and has been widely used since by archaeologists.

Landscape studies does not simply refer to the study of land surrounding a site, but to the materiality and manipulation of the land occupied by a site and the agency of those doing the manipulation. It is about place, and how place is part of the lived experience. Landscape can be both the built and natural environment with which people interact. Often architecture is grouped within landscape studies, as part of the built environment in historical archaeology, however in this research I have chosen to separate these two categories in order to give each adequate space to be discussed and understood separately (Adams 1990; Rotman 2007; Rotman and Savulis 2003). The agency of individuals is a vital piece of understanding and interpreting

both historical landscapes and architecture, each landscape and home was created with a purpose and as a reflection of social roles that changed as trends changed (Nassaney et al. 2001; Rotman and Savulis 2003: 5). This point becomes even more important in research such as this, which encompasses two different social groups with varying agency and cultural needs and at times varying agency between the exterior and interior of a house.

As landscape studies incorporate both the built and natural environment, they can be conducted on multiple scales; regionally, locally, and at the site level. This research evaluates primarily the built environment that became the cultural landscape associated with the four home sites and because of this focuses on each site individually no major consideration was given to the local or regional landscapes beyond the site boundaries. These considerations are outside the scope of this work and could be future avenues for research.

The landscape of each site has several divisions to it, the most basic of which in this study is front yard, back yard, and side yard. Each site has nuanced differences in how the landscape is best divided based upon where the site is situated and the boundaries of the site. These same basic divisions are used across each site in this study for a better comparative analysis between the sites. Beyond these divisions based on the geography of the space are considerations of divisions based upon the 19th century view of yard space. Part of these divisions were based upon gender dichotomies previously discussed, a kitchen yard would be seen still as a feminine space, partially due to association with the kitchen and its nature as a private use space (Rotman 2007: 90). Opposite of a kitchen yard is the front of the home, used for public displays, often on a porch which was used as an extension of the parlor (Beckham 1988). This emphasizes that not all exterior space was seen as public, and divisions existed within the landscape between both public and private and male and female spaces.

As was mentioned above, part of landscape studies is the materiality of the space. This research examines the material culture of each site's landscape to examine what divisions can be identified through the material culture left behind in the landscape. This type of study has been conducted previously, as closely as the Morris-Butler site in Indianapolis (Rotman 2007).

Similarly to the Morris-Butler House study, each site in this study requires a determination of what parts of the landscape would be subject to the public eye and which would not. A home on the corner of two streets would have larger areas subjected to public view compared to a home found in the middle of a street. Some homes can be divided similarly to the division used at the Morris-Butler home, while others will need a more detailed division of yard space.

Each site in this study had its excavation units and shovel test pits labelled as being in the front yard, back yard, side front yard or side back yard. These classifications were used to compare the density of artifacts as well as type of artifact that were found in each. The front yard is space that is above a line extended out from the front face of the home. The back yard is only what is directly behind the back of the home. The side yards encompass a large portion of the yard and the division point between front and back side yards is the middle point of the home. These divisions do not necessarily correlate to public or private spaces as this depends upon the position of the home.

Additionally the adaptive processes through time at each site were examined. Adaptive processes refer to the flex in landscape use over time to best suit the needs of the inhabitants and changes through time. There are three types of adaptive processes: additive adjustments, substitutive adjustments, and subtractive adjustments (Stewart-Abernathy 1986: 9-10). Additive adjustments are new features on the landscape, substitutive adjustments are feature or building

repurposing, and subtractive adjustments are the removal of buildings and feature when they are no longer needed (Stewart-Abernathy 1986: 9-10). Many times these changes are not very visible though the archaeological record, especially if a building leaves no footprint behind. Instead these changes can be more visible through documentary evidence, such as Sanborn maps, or a combination of documentary and archaeological evidence. All of this evidence leads to landscape patterns, which often expressed socio-economics, similarly to how they do today. Those with yards that had more leisure space than work space would often be associated with a higher socio-economic status than yards primarily used for work activities. However most homes had outdoor spaces dedicated to work activities, though of these spaces were kept out of sight and gardens and trees featured more prominently in the front of properties, to give the illusion that inhabitants were not participating in work activities at their homes.

Ethnohistorical Methods

Ethnohistorical methods have long been used in conjunction with archaeology (Baerrais 1961; Picha 2009; Wood 1990). Ethnohistory is the use of historical methods and documentation with cultural anthropology (Wood 1990: 81). It typically involves reading ethnographies and firsthand accounts about those who do not have a traditional history written about them, while this is most commonly in reference to Native Americans, the same methods can be employed in investigations of other groups (Daniel 2010; Harkin 2010). In historical archaeology these methods are especially useful as they add a layer of context and understanding of the material culture not achievable through only archaeology. In this research the methods of ethnohistory will be utilized to thoroughly understand the decision making involved in nineteenth century consumerism and gain a more complete view of Victorian ideology and cultural expectations through primary documents such as diaries, personal papers, and probate records.

Another way to examine expectations of the Victorian period in America is to look at the literature printed during the nineteenth century for women. Farm journals and newspapers were intensely popular during the nineteenth century and were read and written by both men and women. Journals such as *the Prairie Farmer*, *Ohio Cultivator*, *American Farmer*, and *Indiana Farmer*. These journals contain a plethora of information about both women and consumerism in the rural Midwest. Women often wrote in these journals, opinion pieces about various topics dealing with the home that reflected their cultural realities at the time. Many of these journals had specific women's sections in them for op-eds and advice columns called 'Domestic Economy' or in the case of the *Indiana Farmer* 'Ladies Department'.

Another literature source is help books, such as *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* and *The American Woman's Home*, both by the prolific writer for women, Catherine Beecher. The first is an early attempt to lay out the expectations for women within the cult of domesticity ideology and the latter a continuation of the same ideology.

A different type of documentary evidence of life during the Victorian period are probate records. Probate records were collected by the courts at the death of an individual, in order to inventory their estate. From these records evidence about social and economic life can be gleaned, they are a snapshot of a household at a specific time. One aspect of probate records that is useful when discussing consumption is that each item inventoried in a household is given a valuation and allows for a better understanding of the worth of items in a household. Probates have been used for a plethora of archaeological research, the language used within the probates and the ceramic pricing and naming of households are two examples of ways in which probate records have been used to better understand archaeological material (Miller 1980; Brown 1988).

When examining probate records it should be noted that these are not complete records of a household. Since these inventories are meant to create a valuation of the household any items that were deemed to have no value were not listed and since each probate was conducted by different individuals, what was considered valueless could vary household to household (Bragdon 1988). Additionally when people were still living in the home being inventoried at the time an inventory was conducted much less was likely to be listed in the probate, as will be seen later. While probates are a very useful source of information, it must be remembered that they are rarely a complete look at a household.

Thomas Neely's diary, written between 1867 and 1901, is a major source of contextualization for the period as well. He discusses home renovations, purchases, family life, Muncie events, gardening, and more. This diary gives a first-hand account of the lives of the urban middle class of the Midwest during the Victorian period and is valuable for the insights it gives into the processes that go into the changing architecture and material culture we see the results of today, with little understanding into the true thought processes behind them. The diary additionally gives a more nuanced view of the entire Neely family and the roles they each played within the home, without such a document it would be near impossible to learn these details.

Chapter 3 Victorian America

The Victorian period officially began in 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne in Great Britain. The cultural phenomena named after her has its roots in England, but soon became equally as popular and even more intense during a time of rapid social and economic change in the United States (Howe 1976; Plante 1997). Some historians place the dates of the Victorian era in the U.S. differently from the traditional dates, using 1865-1914 as the range for Victorianism in the United States (Morgan 1973). This revised date range makes sense as it is bookmarked by two wars, the American Civil War and the First World War, which often bring a myriad of changes economically, socially, and culturally to countries involved. The United States began to become more involved in world affairs after the American Civil War, truly entering the world –system centered on industrial growth that was witnessed in both North America and Europe. This industrial growth brought new wealth, ideas, and a need to prove cultural competency within the world (Morgan 1973).

The Victorian age, or the late nineteenth century, conjures up a specific picture when mentioned to most, of an ornate life in a large home, and for some that was true, but it is crucial to remember that this experience was not universal during the period. Newly arrived immigrants, Native Americans, and those who were working-class or non-white were not participating in Victorian culture, instead retaining different cultural identities (Howe 1976). The Victorian culture was primarily that of middle and upper-class white individuals, which is where each of the four families fall, white, middle-class, and at least one generation removed from immigration to the United States (Stevenson 1991). This intersection of people adopted cultural trends of the upper-class in the United Kingdom and expanded upon them to create an American Victorian

culture. In the United States characteristics of this cultural period evolved around morality and having a greater purpose in life. Generally, for women being Victorian meant not needing to work outside the home once married and creating a moral family, while for men it meant supporting their families via employment outside of the home (Stevenson 1991).

Another major characteristic of the nineteenth century was the burgeoning for-profit mentality of capitalism, something that influenced the way Victorianism developed and was expressed by individuals. The developing capitalism of the time influenced both urban and rural individuals and how both men and women interacted with the world around them. While the majority of farms were family farms through the nineteenth century, they were beginning to amass more land through time and creating a surplus of products to be sold. Middle class women were displaced from domestic production and pushed further into domestic consumption, thus creating the beginning of the domestic economy of the Victorian era. This new domestic economy created space for women within the public, in which they could become major contributors to the profits of businesses and either reject or prop up cultural trends. Women were influenced by multiple factors when making economic decisions, and major pressures from both cultural and ideological expectations would have been present. Exploring these aspects of American Victorianism is vital to understanding the decision making during the period. Culture and ideology are two separate entities that have become intertwined in how we think about the Victorian period.

Victorian Ideology

Gender-based ideology was not new to the Victorian period, but the ideology developed in the period was new. Out of cultural movements in the United States came new gender ideologies to steer expectations and relationships primarily between women and the world

around them. As the United States formed into a new country Republican Motherhood shaped women's roles in both their homes and the new political landscape. As modernization quickly began to move through the country a new ideology, the Cult of Domesticity, reshaped gender roles once more.

Cult of Domesticity

Even though the shift to modernity was not a clean or quick transition in the Midwest, there was still a very visible new ideology present throughout the region. In the latter half of the nineteenth century a cultural and ideological shift was beginning in America due to industrialization and increased politicization of women's rights (Evans 1989: 97). Previously work had been divided based on gender, with women still working outside the home on farms or at tasks that were directly useful to the survival of the family, in the new modern era this was less necessary for middle class families. These types of tasks were slowly removed from the home and women were left with less tasks directly related to family livelihood, replaced with tasks related to the morality of their families. Women's influence was being concentrated into the home more intensely than during earlier periods and they became central familial figures, taking some of what had previously been men's power over in the household (Howe 1976:

26). Evidence of these new expectations can be found in the literary works by Catharine Beecher. She wrote many books aimed towards women and domestic virtue, the first such being published in 1841 (Beecher 1841; Beecher and Stowe 1869). These publications were meant to elevate women's status within the home. Part of the shift in gender ideology at this time was not only putting women as the moral center of their families but as the center of consumption in a new socioeconomic system of an urbanized America (Sorenson 2000). This shift in ideology became known as the 'cult of domesticity' or 'cult of true womanhood'.

The Cult of Domesticity is defined by the separate spheres for men and women and became a large part of how we define Victorianism today. It was a continuation of women being associated with the domestic, but instead of in-home production being one of their primary purposes they now became responsible for family consumption, in addition to an increased emphasis of familial morality, at times being referred to as ‘angels of the home’. They were in charge of the ‘private sphere’ and all the duties that came with the private spaces of their family, while men maintained themselves in the ‘public sphere’ (Rotman 2006). It was a separation of both the genders and the space in which they moved, the home itself fell within the care of women while men were primarily responsible for outdoor spaces. Women were relegated to duties within the home, such as child rearing and decorating, which gained even more importance than it previously had, while men were away from the home participating in the public as they worked and held civic duties. These spheres of existence became integral to the ideology of the Victorian period and the new emphasis on women’s buying power in the home. This change was a direct result of the new availability of mass-produced goods and consumer culture that capitalism enabled and Victorian individuals embraced. Since women were now the primary consumers within a household, they were charged with maintaining the social status of their family, giving them a seemingly public identity, while still being kept in the private (Blanch 2006). This new ideology is often associated with all women across the middle class, however rural women have been found to be resistant to these cultural changes throughout America (McMurray 1988; Nickolai 2003).

We can see that women on farms were still actively encouraged to be involved in some farming endeavors, opposite of what is considered typical Victorian ideological ideals of men doing outdoor labor. In the January 31, 1874 publication of *The Indiana Farmer*, a weekly newspaper catering to farming communities, is a piece titled “What a Young Lady Did Last

Year.” In this piece is a story about a farmer's daughter whom is raising the chickens. This task is deemed as “one which females may engage with success,” and “the change from household duties rather agreeable than otherwise”. In this we can begin to see exceptions to the Victorian ideals in rural life which began to create a perceived dichotomy between urban and rural. Many women, both young and old, wrote pieces expounding the virtues of country life over that of an urban one and many a young woman wrote pieces yearning for the end of farm chores for what they saw as a more refined existence in the city, and presumably a closer adherence to the dominant ideology of the period that called for them to focus on social aspects of life instead of production.

Victorian Culture and Consumerism

Victorian culture is made up of the trends of the period in clothing, ceramics, literature, and décor. All of these pieces of Victorian culture can be gathered under the idea of Victorian consumerism, an overarching theme of Victorianism. Consumerism was a direct effect of the increased industrialization of the period. Suddenly large quantities of goods were available for purchase, when previously many goods were made in the home. As people moved in urban areas there was little need for women to be domestic producers and they instead became the primary consumers of the Victorian period.

There are several types of consumption that can be classified during the Victorian period: traditional consumption, consumption based on upper-class European models, rationalized consumption, and consumption for personal gratification (Gordon and McArthur 1985: 29). Traditional consumption is the general model seen before industrialization and continued to be associated with farm families into the late nineteenth century (Gordon and McArthur 1985). The second type of consumption useful for this study is consumption based on upper-class European

models. This consumption was based in new industrialization and the availability of goods associated with Europeans to middle-class Americans. Furniture was especially subjected to this kind of consumption, peaking in 1870 when furniture reached the highest expenditure per capita in America (Gordon and McArthur 1985: 35).

There are several expected differences between the goods and consumerism of rural and urban households. Most farmers put their wealth back into their farms, leaving little to be spent on the latest trends in furniture or tableware. Keeping up with trends in east central Indiana would have been even more difficult, as furniture was often purchased in Indianapolis and sent to the buyers homes, adding more expenses to what could already seem like unnecessary spending on new furniture.

Victorian Architecture and Landscape Ideals

The Victorian home was a core piece of Victorian culture, as it showcased who the families were to the public. The home was also the place in which cultural transmission centered and as home-centered production waned the new focus became children and creating an environment in which to teach them their culture (Howe 1976: 25-26). Architecture reformers began to elevate the idea of the single family home and the many virtues associate with it and in turn the virtues of the nuclear-family ideal (Clark 1986). Here with architecture we see the continuation of mass consumerism, as material goods, such as the home, began to be equated with morality of the family.

Victorian Architecture

“When, therefore, a wise woman seeks a home in which to exercise this ministry, she will aim to secure a house so planned that it will provide in the best manner for health, industry, and

economy, those cardinal requisites of domestic enjoyment and success.” – Katherine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, 1869

The American family home has often been associated with order and private sanctuary against the chaos of early social life in a new country. This idealization of the home continued through the eighteenth and nineteenth century and resulted in the home becoming a major symbol for any family of their identity, morality, and social standing.

By the mid-nineteenth century domestic reformers were becoming vocal in what they saw as a need for change in American families and their homes. They were advocates for an emphasis in ‘moral design’ of the home that would in turn aid in the morality of the family that inhabited it (Clark 1986). An excerpt from Katherine Beecher’s 1869 *American Woman’s Home* summarizes the view of the home during this period: “...a Christian house; that is, a house contrived for the express purpose of enabling every member of a family to labor with the hands for common good, and by modes at once healthful, economical, and tasteful.” Katherine and Harriet put this duty onto the women of the households, to best change their homes and find homes that fit this moral calling. This was part of the larger trend that wives and mothers were the center of morality in the home, and if they were the moral authorities that meant they must also be the family architects and designers. Often we prescribe renovations and additions of the home to the men who owned those homes and physically made the changes, with little understanding of who was truly designing and pushing for those changes to the home. Women were just as likely to publish house plans in journals and were often vocal about what a home needed, as they were the individuals who most needed a functioning design to their home. Evidence of women having influence in house design can be seen in publications such as Louis

Antoine Godey's *Godey's Lady's Book*. This publication was produced between 1830 and 1896, specifically for women, and often included house plans in it.

Each of the homes we are discussing in this research were built by 1855, though most made additions through the next half century. These early homes followed a simpler plan in their constructions, often with the symmetry of a central door and a room to each side. Slowly these early homes grew more elaborate through the decades. Floor plans could be reworked as additions were made to better reflect newer Victorian ideals of architecture and space, but more easily were the exteriors of homes renovated to reflect a Victorian style for the public to see. The exterior of a home could have porches added and decorative cornices and other elements put on to become similar to the new architectural trends of the period.

An example of an early folk architectural style being turned into a Victorian home is the I-House, a common home style found throughout the Midwest. The style is defined by its dimensions: one room deep by two rooms wide and their side gabled roofs; a simple symmetric home. These I-Houses were often plain and later in time porches and decorative elements were added according to styles of the period. When elements began to be added to the I-house in the mid-to-late nineteenth century the homes began to be termed as Folk Victorian styles, as Victorian elements were added (McAlester and McAlester 1988: 309). The added Victorian elements most often resemble those seen on Queen Anne or Italianate style homes. The styles were usually applied to porches and cornice lines of the homes, as it was the easiest and most public way to add to a home (McAlester and McAlester 1988: 309). Not all homes would have been updated to reflect new styles, but the homeowner keeping up with new trends would often make these small changes to reflect their socio-economics through these new symbolic forms. The exterior of a home less often reflects any gender specific symbolism, only an adherence to

more general Victorian trends. Gender related symbolism was left for the interior of the home, similar to today where we still see gendered division via spaces referred to as ‘man-caves’ or other similarly termed rooms.

SEGMENTED SPACE

The home was actively used by its inhabitants to aid in shaping gender separation by literally separating the genders within the home. In the nineteenth century the division manifested through ideas of women being relegated to private spaces and men to public spaces (Kerber 1988). The parlor is the most interesting example of this division, it could be both a public or private space and a space for men or women, depending upon the need. The parlor worked as a fluid space, holding a women’s church meeting one afternoon, the family lounging that evening and a funeral the next day. Within the home it was one of the two most public spaces, the other being the dining room (Green 1983; Plante 1997). While the dining room and parlor were more public spaces, a kitchen and sitting room, if the home had one, were private spaces, often situated toward the back of homes (Plante 1997).

Architecture also shaped the relations between rural and urban populations, as architects and home builders had very specific ideas associated with certain spaces within the home. One example is the parlor, McMurry states: the parlor, which farmer-designers associated with urban culture and especially with urban women, represented the undesirable qualities of formality, family disintegration, economic waste, and idleness (1988:6). The difference in name and association signifies a change in use of very similar rooms. This resulted in a change to the gendered use of the space. A sitting room was fluid and more relaxed, with all genders being in the space at once, as opposed to a more formal parlor which often held only one gender at a time for specific events and uses. The furniture within these two rooms would be different. As the

parlor was more formal, a more formal type of furniture would be found in it, while sitting rooms would hold some amount of work related material, such as a sewing machine. The differences between these spaces may be unidentifiable archaeologically, unless detailed plans or probate records detailing furniture survive for a home. However this a clear example of the architecture and space use being directly related to one's location. By discovering the nuanced differences in room use it may point to other similar differences between space use and ideology in a home.

Victorian Landscape

Space segmentation continued onto the landscape as well, with areas designated as either private or public based on their visibility from the street. This includes the transitional space of porches. Sue Beckham describes porches as liminal spaces, neither a part of the private home nor a part of the public it faced (1988). It was a place where women were both neither in their private spaces nor in the public spaces they were kept away from. Whole families could gather and visit on porches, as Thomas Neely wrote about in the summer of 1899 (August 15). Or it could be a semi-public space that lone women could enjoy with no fear of the stigma of a woman in public alone, it became a space popular for young women to entertain their callers, as the pair was not truly alone (Beckham 1988: 77).

The landscape beyond the porch was once again fully public, as long as it could be seen. Spaces beyond the eye, behind homes, fences, and outbuildings were private. Thus we again have a dichotomy of space in the homes yard. Part of the Victorian image was a clean yard with plants carefully placed to show off the house. Catherine Beecher gives instruction about the way to plant trees and their layout in the yard (1869: 379-383). During the Victorian period homes were often portrayed as an oasis, surrounded by plants and tranquility (Clark 1988). This was the ideal and many homes attempted to achieve this controlled use of nature to give their homes the

feeling of a sanctuary from wilderness. Part of this feeling was keeping the yards clean and free from anything unsightly, such as privies. These types of outbuilding had to be outside of the public view in the far backs of yards and behind gardens, trees, and fences.

An example of Victorian landscape ideals can be found at the Morris-Butler house in Indianapolis, Indiana. This was the home of an urban, middle class family in the nineteenth century, built in 1865. This family was similar to families in any other urban setting, including the Moore and Neely families of Muncie (Rotman 2007: 97-100).

Deborah Rotman conducted a landscape analysis on the Morris-Butler House, close to the study area of this research (2007). At this site Rotman divided the landscape of the site into ‘side yard’ and ‘north lot’, defining the side yard as public space and the north lot as private space. The analysis of the archaeological material of each area revealed clear differences matching the visibility of the space to the street and the public eye. Outbuildings were kept in a back corner of the property, along an alleyway, while the side and front yards were utilized for gardens and outdoor recreation, such as croquet (Rotman 2007: 102-105). This was the ideal for the Victorian period, the visible part of the yard was witnessed as a space for the family to gather and enjoy one another’s company and the beauty of gardens, while chores and menial tasks were away from the street and public eyes.

This type of standardization of space was a hallmark of the nineteenth century and was prevalent in both urban and rural spaces (Groover 2008). However generally speaking, rural homes had much more space that could be considered private, as they had larger working yards with barns and fewer neighbors, which could influence their use of space outside the home, with activity not forced to be as close to the house as was the case on urban house lots.

Overall each of these elements, material culture, architecture, and landscape, are important to understanding how those who were a part of Victorian culture emphasized it in their lives. Presented above are the idealized versions of each category that could be used in various ways based upon individual decision and location. The ideology and cultural implementations of Victorianism were not absolute across the Midwest and this study aims to explore how these elements may have varied between urban and rural places.

Chapter 4 Family Histories

Local Histories

Before Indiana became a territory of the United States it was home to thousands of indigenous people over many centuries beginning with Paleoindians (10000-7500 B.C.) who were the first to migrate to the area. Indiana continued to be home for indigenous populations through the Archaic (8000-700 B.C.), Woodland (1000 B.C. - 1200 A.D.), Mississippian (1000-1650 A.D.), Protohistoric, and historic culture periods. When Europeans began migrating west from the East coast they forced native groups further west as well. By the historic period two tribes were living within the study area of east central Indiana, the Miami and the Delaware. A series of treaties including the treaty of Greenville in 1795, treaty of St. Mary's in 1818, as well as the Indian removal Act of 1830 forced native tribes out of Ohio and Indiana and allowed for increased European-American migration into the area (Kemper 1908; Madison 2014).

East central Indiana is comprised of eight counties, most of which were not organized until after Indiana gained statehood in 1816 (figure 4-1). However many settler-colonials began living within east central Indiana much earlier, in the mid-eighteenth century, and by 1800 the population was 5,641 in Indiana territory (Census Bureau; Madison 2014: 3). The earliest recorded land claim in East central Indiana was in 1807 in Wayne County, along the border with Ohio (General Land Office records).

The population of Indiana territory continued to grow and was 63,897 when statehood was granted in 1816 (Madison 2014: 49). Once statehood was granted Indiana's population grew much quicker as people traveled westward. The National Road, built across central Indiana, allowed easy access for settlers from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and other states to travel and

lay claim to Indiana land beginning in the 1820s and continuing heavily into the 1840s (Broadsides n.d.: 384). This influx of easterners can be seen in census population data for Indiana, as by 1840 the population had grown to 685,866 from the 63,897 counted only twenty-four years earlier (Census Bureau). City centers within east central Indiana began to be established as these populations of settlers grew.

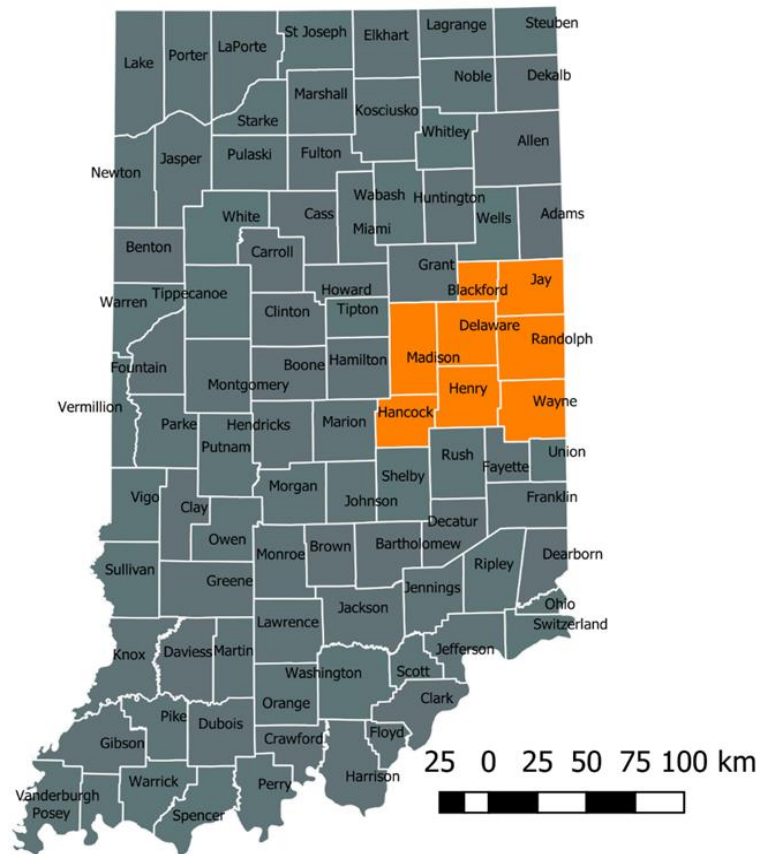


FIGURE 4-1: Map of Indiana with east central counties highlighted

Delaware County and Muncie

Delaware County began to be claimed by settler-colonials in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Sources are conflicted onto who and when land was first claimed. The first claims made in the Fort Wayne Land office were on March 10th, 1825 by David Branson, David Conner, Thomas Cox, and John Deeds. Although according to other sources, land claims were made as early as 1810 (Kemper 1908). Once these first claims were made families slowly migrated westward into the county. Both the Neely and Moore families migrated to Muncie and became part of the growth felt during the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

Urban spaces continued to slowly grow until industrialization began in earnest and cities saw a boom of activity. In this research ‘urban’ refers to settlements or cities that have a population of over 2,500 (Steinson 1994). Thomas Neely writes in his diary of the rapid development in Muncie, Indiana beginning in the 1870’s. In the summer of 1874 Thomas makes a point to mention the rapid construction in Muncie twice, saying on August 8th that “probably one hundred dwelling houses been built in Muncie this year, and still others being built,” Muncie had only officially become a city a decade before, in 1864. Muncie is the location of two sites used in this study and is representative of many mid-sized urban areas found throughout east central Indiana, and the Midwest, as it is positioned between a large city and rural areas.

Wayne County

Wayne County is on the eastern-most edge of Indiana, it began to be settled much earlier than Delaware County with land beginning to be claimed in 1805. A steady flow of settler-

colonials came to the area thereafter and in 1810 Wayne County was officially formed (History of Wayne County, Indiana 1884: 350). From the beginning of migration into Wayne County many Quaker families moved from North Carolina, a group the Huddleston family was a part of in their early years. The population steadily grew through the years as more and more families made their way westward. In 1820 the population of the county was 12,119, in 1850 it was 25,320, and in 1880 the population was at 38,614 people (History of Wayne County, Indiana 1884).

The Huddleston farm is situated on the western end of Wayne County half way in between the town centers of Dublin and Cambridge City, in Jackson Township. It was built along the National Road, a major thoroughfare for European-Americans traveling westward in the nineteenth century. The population of the two nearby towns combined was roughly 2,500 people in 1880 (History of Wayne County, Indiana 1884).

Madison County

Madison County began to be settled shortly after Wayne County, the first recorded settler came to the area in 1818 and was officially organized in 1823 (Forkner 1914; Harden 1874). The county seat became Anderson, which the Huddleston family settled east of. Madison county grew much the same as Delaware and Wayne counties did; in 1830 the population was 2,238, in 1850 was 12,375, and by 1874 the population hovered around 25,000 people (Harden 1874). Of that population in 1874 about 8,000 resided lived in towns, while the remaining 17,000 residing in rural areas of the county. The Bronnenberg house is in Union township, the easternmost township in the county.

Family and Site Histories

Urban Families

NEELY FAMILY

The first family in this study is the Neely family. The Neely family first arrived to Muncie in 1839 and consisted of Thomas S. Neely, Matilda (Wierman) Neely, and their first two of four children Mary, and Jennie. Thaddeus and Leonidas were both born once the family had moved to Muncie.

Thomas and Matilda were both born in Adams County, Pennsylvania. Thomas was born in 1811 to Jane Smith and Moses Neely and Matilda in 1807 to Mary Hamond and Harman Wierman. Thomas and Matilda married on September 26, 1833 in York, Pennsylvania. Throughout their lives Matilda, Thomas, and their children kept close ties to Adams County and the family that lived there, often stopping to visit when passing through Pennsylvania to other destinations. After Thomas and Matilda married, the couple moved to Elizabeth in Miami County, Ohio. Thomas had moved to Miami County with his father and family prior to marriage and returned to Pennsylvania for Matilda (1830 census). It was in Ohio that the first two Neely children were born; Mary Eliza in 1834 and Martha Jane in 1836. In 1839 the family of four migrated further west and settled in Muncie. In May of that year Thomas bought his first lot in Muncie from Thomas Bishop for \$300 (Delaware County Deed Record Book 4: 344). This first home was lot 5 in block 10, which later became known as Abbott's house. It was here in Muncie that their two sons were born, Thaddeus in 1843 and Leonidas in 1846.

Thomas actively bought and sold property in Muncie and built a business block downtown in the 1840's. Thomas became a backbone of Muncie early on and was considered

one of the old settlers of Muncie. He was integral to Muncie's growth through the decades, advocating for the rail roads to come through town, staying involved in the public schools and teachers college, and being a church elder.

Matilda was a strict woman, running many hired girls out of her home through the years. She had a low tolerance for the mischiefs that young women participated in and even less tolerance for what she perceived as laziness. Neither she nor Thomas had much love for the hired girls they had through the years, calling them a "necessary evil" at one point (November 13, 1880: 26). Often these women were African-American and this reinforces the point that the cult of domesticity was primarily a concern of white middle-class women, as Matilda often disapproved of how the women acted.

We can see that Matilda embraced her role as it was defined by the cult of domesticity, Thomas often referred to Matilda as 'Mother' in his diary, pointing to the fact that this was her primary identity to her entire family. Once she had died Thomas talked about her quite a bit, at Thanksgiving of 1886 he remembered her as "the centre around whom we all evolved" (Nov 25, 1886). She had been the figure in charge of her family and had kept them together until her death, when some fracturing began, such as on the first Thanksgiving after her death when more than one of their children held a Thanksgiving dinner instead of everyone around a single table.

When Matilda died in 1886 and Jennie took over the household completely. Jennie had never married and as such lived in her parents' home her entire life. Since she never married, Jennie was also able to maintain a profession throughout her life. She had substantial personal agency due to her single status and even bought a cottage in New York with her own earnings and lived there in the summers beginning in 1883, taking in up to forty-five boarders at a time (Thomas Neely diary June 1883). This was also completely in line with the cult of domesticity,

as unmarried women had less strict guidelines to follow and were allowed freedoms not shared with their married peers.

We can also see the interests that Jennie held throughout her life as we can look at her lending history from the Muncie Public Library between 1894 and 1901. She was interested in science, art, mythology, and stories of heroics. One book that Jennie took out from the library more than once was *Lives of Girls Who Became Famous* by Sarah Knowles Bolton. A book about the lives of women who had become well known in the mid to late nineteenth century, such as Louisa May Alcott and Harriet Beecher Stowe. She also aided her brother Thaddeus in buying and selling property in a new addition of Muncie in the early 1890's and appears to have maintained lots in the new addition, Marysville, through the next two decades (Muncie Transfer Books, 1891-1895; 1895-1899; 1899-1903). However she still received help from her parents, Thomas sends several hundred dollars to her in Chautauqua to aid her during the summer of 1883. There is also a passage in Thomas' diary where he describes Jennie wanting to try her hand at doing the grocery shopping, suggesting she had little experience in completing this errand (November 21, 1882: 118).

While Jennie was an independent minded woman, she still stayed in the family home and cared for her increasingly elderly father until his death, and by doing so she slowly took over the running of the household. Beginning in 1895 Jennie began to keep Thomas's journal for him as his eye sight became too bad to see the journal pages well. Once Jennie takes over the journal entries we begin to get small glimpses of daily life for a Victorian woman in her own words. Much of her time was spent doing household tasks, such as canning or maintaining the interior of the home. The rest of Jennie's time was spent socializing with a large circle of friends. Thomas

lived until the summer of 1901. After Thomas' death Jennie continued to live in the home with a nephew until her own death in 1911, after which the home was sold out of the family.



FIGURE 4-2: Photo of Thomas Neely, Late 19th century (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

MOORE FAMILY

The second family who lived in Muncie were the Moore family. They moved in the same social circles that the Neely family did and enjoyed the comforts of a middle class life in an urban center. The family lived on the corner of Mulberry and Washington Streets in a two story home for 118 years, passing the house down through three generations of women.

The first woman in this family to inherit the home was Clara Wilson Moore (figure 4-3). Clara Jane Wilson was born to Samuel Wilson and Elizabeth Quinn in Eaton, Ohio on March 13, 1836. She was one of five surviving children born to Samuel and Elizabeth between 1831 and 1846. The family migrated sometime in 1857-1858 from Ohio and became part of the city of Muncie (Hoover 1990: 4). Clara was in her early twenties when she arrived in Muncie and was a contemporary of Jennie, born in the same year and moving in the same social circles through their lives, though there is little evidence of their direct interaction as they participated in different clubs and different churches. One major difference between the two women is the fact that Clara married; on November 6, 1861 she married Charles Wesley Moore, a new lawyer in Muncie (figure 4-4).

Charles had also been born in Ohio, to John Moore and Nancy Jackson Moore on April 2, 1826, one of 10 children whom survived into adulthood. Soon after his birth the family moved to Delaware County and resided on a farm outside of Muncie (Hoover 1990: 1). Charles became orphaned in 1840 and lived with his brother, William, until he left to attend seminary school and university (Hoover 1990). Charles' marriage to Clara was not his first, he had married Sarah Breswick in Putnam County, Indiana on December 16, 1855. Sarah and Charles had a child, Ellen, in 1856 but both mother and child died the following year. In 1859 Charles moved

back to his childhood hometown of Muncie and began practicing law. He is counted in the 1860 census as a boarder of the Samples family in Muncie. Soon after moving back he married Clara.

The couple did not move directly into what would become a generation's long family home. They likely continued to rent a home until Clara's father, Samuel, purchased the Mulberry Street house in 1864. Their first child, Charles Edward, was born in 1862 and Mary Elizabeth was born in early 1864, their new home purchased just as they had grown into a family of four. Once the family moved into their new home they found themselves living in the center of Muncie, two blocks from the courthouse and only a street over from the businesses and shops that made up downtown Muncie. The original Moore family who lived in the house comprised of Charles and Clara with their two children, Mary and Charles, during the Victorian period. In the last decade of the nineteenth century William Youse also joined the household, when he and Mary married in 1893 (figure 4-5). The family size stayed at four even with the addition of William, as during this same time Charles moved out to begin his own household.

The house itself was a typical I-house found throughout the Midwest when the family of four began to inhabit it. Through the years additions and renovations were added to the home. They expanded and renovated their home as needed to keep up their appearance. The family were of typical middle class status for the time and employed a servant, as can be seen in the 1870 census, an indicator of their class status during the time, and again illustrating the different identities present in Muncie at the time.

Charles had a long and prosperous career as a lawyer in Muncie. At his death the Delaware County Courts wrote a memorial for Charles that spoke favorably of both his career and his family life. A quote from the memorial points to the happy family life of the Moore

household, “it is known to us that his household was always lighted with the sunshine of wifely and filial devotion, “(February 1898). Charles died February 21, 1898.

Throughout their lives the Moore family was involved with their community. Clara was part of the temperance movement, which Thomas Neely details in his diary, speaking highly of the women involved in the activities in town, which included picketing establishments until they ended the sale of alcohol in their businesses. This movement was in line with the morality of the cult of domesticity, highlighting Clara’s adherence to having a moral family and community. Clara was not always serious though, she also held parties in their home throughout the years, such as a Japanese tea party in July of 1884, balancing both sides of a Victorian life, morality and society (Hoover 1990).

Mary, or Mame as she often went by, was more similar to Jennie than Clara appeared to be. Mame was a teacher and travelled outside of Indiana. She did not marry for many years and kept a very social life. Evidence of the entire family’s social standing can be seen in the wedding of Mame to William Youse, 100 guests came to the Moore home to celebrate the couple.

The Moore and Neely families were very similar and are examples of the many families that lived in urban places during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Each family moved within the circles of middle and upper-class white families in Muncie, including among their friends the Ball sisters, of the Ball Glass company family. They were concerned with morality and family life, as well as the social aspect of Victorianism that saw them holding parties and entertaining guests regularly.



FIGURE 4-3: Clara J Moore (Delaware County Historical Society)

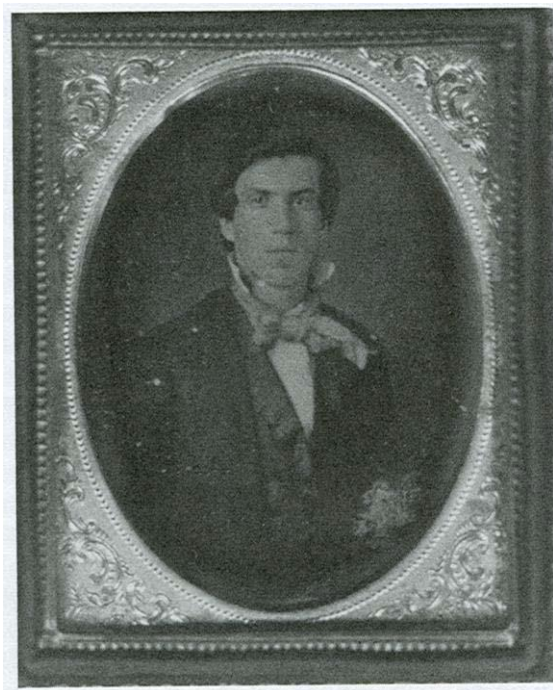


FIGURE 4-4: Charles W Moore (Delaware County Historical Society)



FIGURE 4-5: William and Mame Youse (Delaware County Historical Society)

Rural Families

The Huddleston and Bronnenberg families are the two rural families examined in this and are examples of a large portion of Indiana's population during the nineteenth century, as by 1880 much of Indiana was still rural. Four fifths of the population lived in rural areas and 52 percent of the workforce in the state was employed in agriculture (Steinson 1994).

HUDDLESTON FAMILY

The Huddleston family was a large Quaker family that stayed close throughout their lives. The family was headed by Jonathon Huddleston and Phebe Gardner, both part of the Quaker faith in North Carolina. There they had thirteen children who survived into adulthood. John, who would own the Huddleston house, was the third son of the couple, was born in 1807.

The family can be found in Guilford, North Carolina in the 1810 census and by 1815 had arrived in Indiana, as can be seen in the Whitewater Meeting records of August 26, 1815. The Huddleston family were part of the Quaker faith when they arrived in Indiana, officially joining first the Whitewater meeting and then, upon its creation, the Silver Creek-Salem meeting on May 10, 1817. They are recorded in the Silver Creek-Salem Meeting minutes and notes frequently. Slowly many in the family were disowned from the meeting in the late 1820's and 1830's, including John, Jonathon and Phebe. Any family left in the Silver Creek-Salem Meeting began to move to the Milford Meeting (Heiss 1962).

After being disowned from the meeting, John married Susanna Moyer on March 4, 1830. Little can be found about Susannah prior to her marriage to John. We know that she was born in Pennsylvania on November 26, 1807, thanks to the Huddleston family bible. She is likely the

daughter of Abraham and Christina Moyer, the only listed Moyer in Union County in 1830. John and Susanna's first child was born in December of 1830 and the family continued to grow from there. They moved into Wayne County in 1839, buying 77 acres in the Southwest quarter of section 28 (Wayne County Transfer Book 1 1840-1845: 158). By this time the family had 5 children with another on the way and needed a large home. John, with the help of his two eldest sons, Levi and Henry, built the home with bricks made on-site according to a cousin (Huddleston 1911). This happened sometime between 1839 and 1844, depending upon the source referenced.

Once the home was built the family continued to grow, John and Susanna had a total of twelve children, eleven of which lived to adulthood. By 1870 only two children still lived at home with John and Susanna, but two grandchildren were also counted in the census as living in the home. Even though the rest of their children did not live in the home, several of them stayed close by, living on the same street. In the 1880 census Lydia Huddleston Jay, Levi Huddleston, and Alpheus Huddleston all lived close and were counted on the same census sheet as those residing in the home.

By 1880 Susanna had become a widow. John had died in 1877 when he was kicked in the head by a horse. Susanna officially retained ownership of the farm during this time but the two eldest sons, Levi and Henry, were running the farm. Henry had been helping with the farm since 1875, when he began to appear on tax receipts for the property. Susanna continued to live in the house and by 1880 her daughter Phebe, her husband David Gronendyke, and their eight children had moved in as well. David is listed as a farmer in the census and may have been helping on the Huddleston farm, as Levi and his family soon moved to Newport, Arkansas and Henry and his family owned a farm in Henry County until 1885 (Indiana Historical Society 1881; Henry

County Tax Receipts 1879-1885). Many of the family can be seen in figure 4-6, a photo dating to the 1880's.

The 1890 census was destroyed by fire and this creates a gap in the information for the farm. We know that Henry legally took over the farm in 1889 when he was declared Susanna's legal guardian, due to insanity (Indiana Historical Society 1889). At some point David and Phebe Gronendyke moved to Kansas, potentially at the same time Levi moved to Arkansas, as a son of David and Phebe reported that he was born in Kansas in 1881.

Henry was the second oldest son of John and Susanna and was born in 1833. He married Sarah Jones in 1855 and together had ten children that lived to adulthood. The couple and several of their children moved back into the family home, once Henry officially became Susanna's guardian. Soon after the move Sarah died, in 1891. Henry and his children continued to live in the house. The 1900 census shows three sons still living in the home: Charley, Elmer, and Walter. Henry lived until 1914 and his son Charley took over the farm in 1906 (Wayne County Transfer Book 1905-1910: H). The family continued to live on the farm until 1934, when the death of Charley's son caused his wife to sell the property (Wayne County Transfer Book 1932-1936:33-34).



FIGURE 4-6: Huddleston family c.1880's (Indiana Landmarks)

BRONNENBERG FAMILY

The second rural family in this study is the Bronnenberg family, a founding family of Madison County, Indiana. The Bronnenberg family was one of the first settlers in Union township and in turn owned much of the land over time. Frederick Bronnenberg Sr. was born in Germany in 1775 and immigrated to America as a young man with his brother. In 1805 he married Barbara Oaster (or Easter) in Pennsylvania. Barbara was born in 1788 in either Pennsylvania or Virginia, census records show her children giving both as her birthplace, making it difficult to pinpoint her origin. The couple appear to have moved to Virginia before 1808, where their second through fifth children were born. Frederick Bronnenberg Jr., who would become the owner of the Bronnenberg house and farm was born on June 24, 1812 in Virginia, the fourth child born to the family. In total the couple had thirteen children, eleven of which survived to adulthood. According to records the family spent several years in Ohio, as at least three children record their births as being in Ohio between 1815 and 1819. The family were settled in Madison County no later than 1820, though Harden records their arrival date as 1819 (1874). Frederick Sr. first appears in the General Land Office records in 1823, purchasing land adjacent to what is today Mounds State Park.

Frederick Jr. married Huldah Free in 1840. Huldah was born in Ohio on April 1, 1821. Little can be found about Huldah's early life, she is most likely the daughter of John Free, the only recorded Free in the 1820 census in Ohio and later censuses in Indiana. Frederick and Huldah had seven children, four of which lived into adulthood. Of the four children who survived into adulthood three were sons, William, Ransom, and Calvin. William, the oldest, died at the age of twenty while in Milliken's Bend, Louisiana as part of the 69th regiment volunteer

infantry in the spring of 1863 (sixty-ninth regiment infantry: 113). This left Ransom as the oldest son and he eventually took over the farm as such.

Ransom was born August 1, 1848 to Frederick and Huldah. He married Sarah Seward on October 30, 1869. Sarah Seward was born on June 29, 1850 in Indiana. Sarah is likely the daughter of Joseph J. Seward and Charlotte, the only known family to have a daughter born in 1850 named Sarah in Madison County during the census year of 1860. At about the time the pair married, Frederick Jr. retired and moved into Anderson, leaving the newlyweds to live in the family home (Census Bureau 1870; 1880). Ransom and Sarah had six children, five of whom lived into adulthood.

In 1899 Ransom and Sarah purchased land northeast of the family home and farm and moved, leaving his son Frederick III to tenant farm the land (Swearingen 2002). Frederick was the oldest son of Ransom and Sarah, born in 1872. He married Mary Stewart August 19, 1896 and the couple had two children (Indiana Marriages, 1780-1992). It seems that Ransom and Sarah were continuing the tradition of moving out of the family home once the next heir to the farm married. Frederick and Mary lived in the home until 1930, when the entire Bronnenberg property was sold to create part of Mounds State Park.

Less is known about individuals in the Bronnenberg and Huddleston families, especially the women. While members of both families left behind documents, none of them go into detail about daily life for the families, leaving less evidence of their social activities or relationships within the family. This makes it more difficult to compare these families to the Moore and Neely families through historical documents, but does highlight that rural individuals spent less leisure time writing and documenting their lives.

Chapter 5 Archaeological Work History

Three of the four sites utilized in this study have been excavated through the last several decades by individuals affiliated with Ball State University and the Applied Anthropology Laboratories. The only site to never undergo formal excavation was the Neely house site.

Neely

The Neely site has never been excavated. It had been evaluated previously in consideration for excavation but was deemed too disturbed to yield clear and useful data. The property has seen substantial change in the century since the Neely family owned and utilized the property, including a house being built on lot 7, which was the yard and housed the stable, and an addition added to the back of the property to create a commercial kitchen recently.

Moore-Youse

The Moore-Youse house and lot it sits on have been relatively undisturbed through time, a rarity in an urban setting. The site was excavated using STP's and excavation units in 2004 by Dr. Mark Groover and students from Ball State University. Shovel test pits were first laid out in the side and back yard at 10 foot intervals. A total of 65 STP's were dug. Each STP was 1ft x 1ft and dug to a maximum of 27 inches. Five units were then placed based upon the spatial data provided by the STP's and excavated. Units 1, 3, 4, and 5 were 3ft x 3ft units and Unit 2 was 3ft x 6ft (figure 5-1). Each unit was excavated in .20 of a foot levels (Blanch 2006).

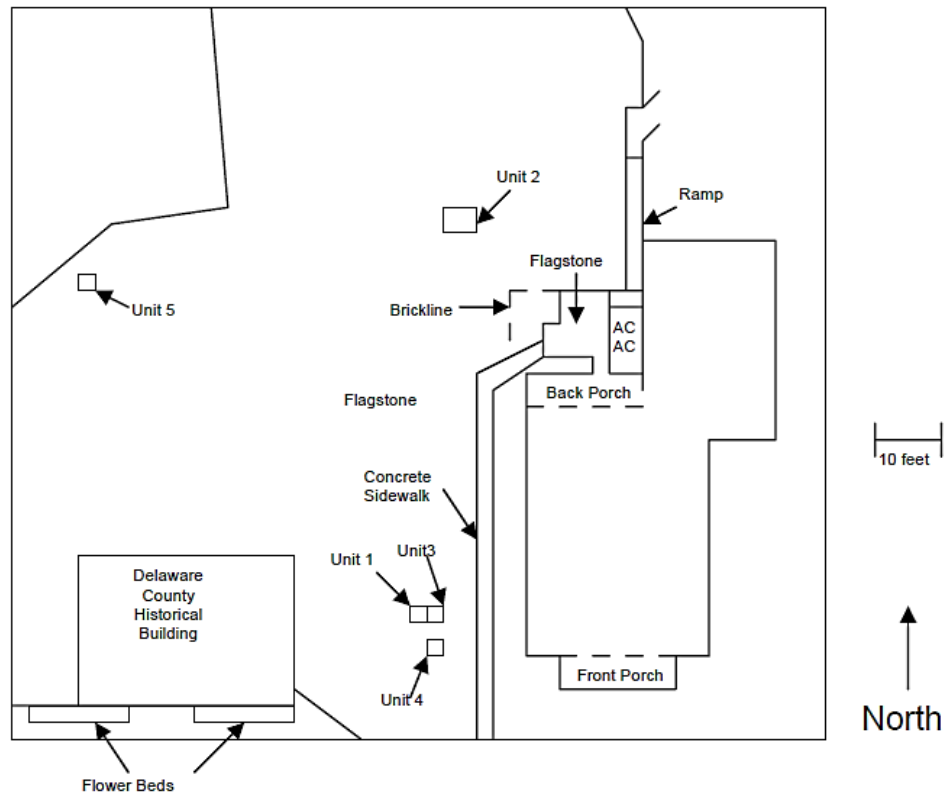


FIGURE 5-1: Map of unit locations at Moore-Youse house (Blanch 2006)

Huddleston

The Huddleston House was the subject of multiple investigations, conducted in 1977, 2002, and 2007. In 1977 excavation units were done directly behind the house and behind side barn. The work in 1977 was conducted in an effort to aid restoration efforts at the site.

Investigations were conducted around the extant barn and behind the kitchen. Two units were placed around the barn, one on the east and one on the west side. Both units were 1m x 2m.

Additional units were placed behind the kitchen where postholes were discovered, indicative of a lean-to and potentially a grape arbor (Sasser 1977).

In 2002 sixty shovel tests were done south west of the home. Five transects were laid out in the southwest yard of the house. Each STP was 40 cm by 40 cm in size and were dug to approximately 40 cm below surface. The shovel tests identified the likely location of an outhouse (Zoll 2002).

In 2007 10 units were excavated based on the spatial data from the 2002 excavations. Nine of the units were 3 feet by 3 feet and one unit was 3 feet by 4 feet. All units were excavated using .20 foot arbitrary levels. These excavations exposed the foundation of a structure in several units (Lautzenheiser 2010). Figure 5-2 is a map of all previous field work conducted at the site.

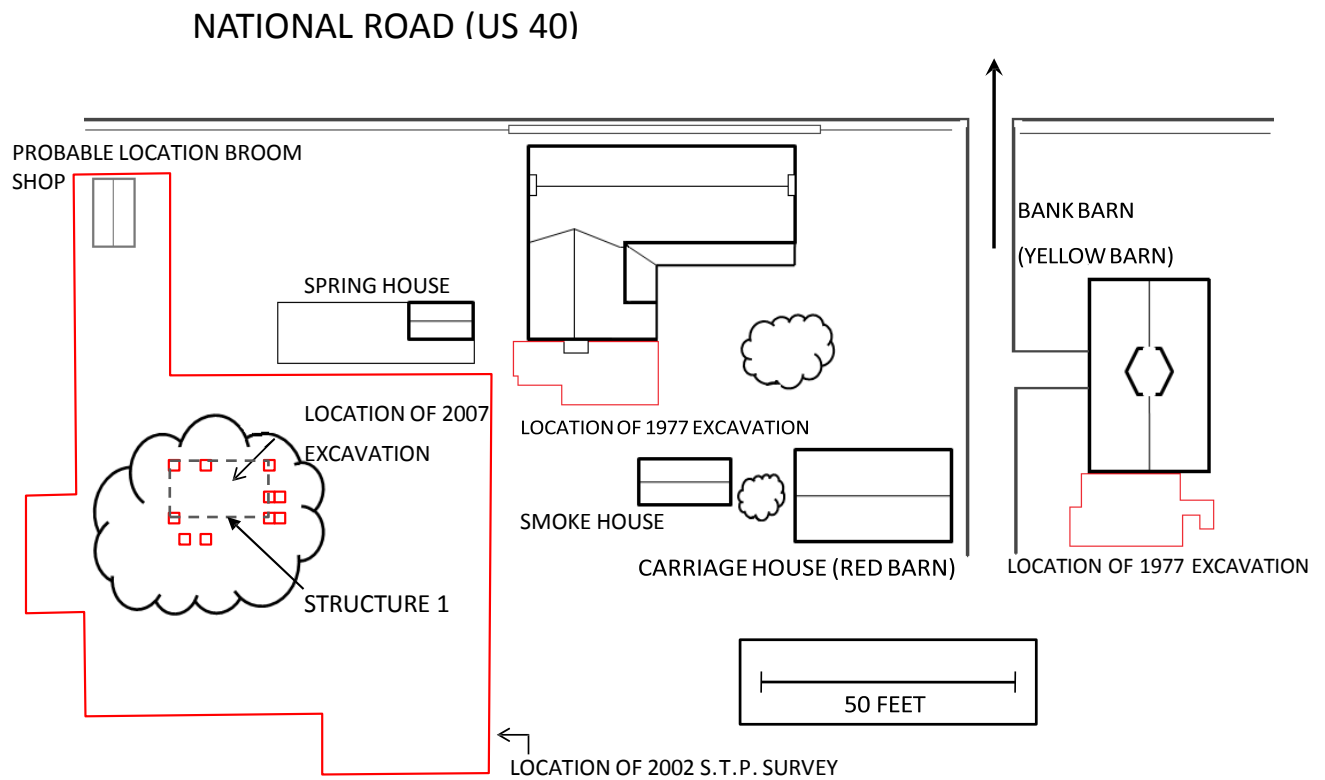


FIGURE 5-2: Map of previous work at Huddleston house (Lautzenheiser 2010)

Bronnenberg

The Bronnenberg site is the most unique of the four, it is part of a large complex of prehistoric and historic sites that include mounds, which were at one point safeguarded by the Bronnenberg family. Due to its location near mounds and within a state park (Mounds State Park) it has been subjected to three seasons of investigation, in 1979, 2005, and 2006 and public outreach weekends in 2008 and 2009. In 1979 the investigators, from the what is now the Applied Anthropology Laboratories (AAL), began by creating a map of what the farm would have looked like during its active period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This map was based on the information gathered by conducting family interviews. 14 transects covering a total space of 187 meters wide were laid north to south. Transect 14 ran parallel to the northern side of the home. Transects 13 and 14 will likely be the only transects with material directly related to the home and not to other out buildings, transect 14 is the only transect with historical ceramic artifacts. Six test units were also laid out during this project on the eastern side of the home, in what would have been the front yard (Hicks 1981). This gives us two different areas of the yard to contrast—what is in the side yard versus what is in the front yard—both artifact type and density.

In 2005 a second study was conducted on the property. First, a gradiometer survey was completed in a 5 meter by 10 meter area in the back yard of the house. Shovel tests were then dug in the western and northern yards of the property. The shovel tests placed in the western, or back, yard were within the same area as the gradiometry survey. The northern shovel tests were placed in between transect 13 and 14 of the 1979 field work. A total of forty-eight shovel tests were done, nine in the western yard and thirty-nine in the northern yard (McCord 2006).

In 2006 work continued from the 2005 field season. 3 units were opened around a shovel test from the previous season that exposed the partial brick foundation of a summer kitchen/ smokehouse/ root cellar. Four additional shovel tests were dug to locate the limits of the brick foundation (McCord 2007).

In 2008 and 2009 work was continued. In 2008 STP's were dug offset from STP's in 205 to continue to look for a small addition that was on the northern wall of the kitchen. The outline of a roof can be seen over the northern kitchen window. 16 STP's were dug every 2 meters and were 50cm in size (Keller and McCord 2009).

A geophysical survey was conducted in 2009 in the western and northern yards of the house. The results of the gradiometry and electrical resistivity were used to place two units in the northwest portion of the yard. Both units were .5m x .5m and were excavated to 20cm below datum. An additional shovel test was also dug at the northwest corner of the house (Klabacka and McCord 2010).

In 2018 and 2019 work has also been conducted below the house, at the dismantled springhouse site in the ravine. The date of the springhouse is currently unknown, but it appears to have been a cobble stone two-room springhouse with halved timber flooring. This part of the site has yielded some artifacts dated to the late 18th century, including several pieces of decorated whiteware. Much of the archaeological material from this lower part of the site is currently thought to be from erosion activities associated with the kitchen house above. Not all the material from this part of the site has been included, as there is a part of the assemblage that was clearly deposited post-1950 and is not relevant to this study.

Probate Analysis

As was also outlined in chapter 2, probates can be very useful records for understanding how a family had their home set up and how much of their income they put into their home. This type of documentary evidence is just as valuable as archaeological evidence. Each type of data can supplement what the other is missing. This is especially useful in this study, since the Neely house has no archaeological evidence.

Unfortunately, only members of the Moore and Neely families left probate records. Individuals in neither the Huddleston nor Bronnenberg families left probates that took inventory of the household goods. A probate for Susannah Huddleston exists, but this only inventoried debts as she was being declared insane and was still living in the home.

Moore Family

Charles, Clara, and Mame each had a probate record at their death. However as all three left members of their family living in the home after their death, not everything was recorded as it was in the home. Charles probate inventory totaled his possessions at \$161.30 after his death in 1898 (Carnegie Library Probate Index). We know that the land and house were in Clara's name and much else would have also fallen under hers in this case. However, this probate does allow us to glimpse into the different rooms the Moore house had within it. Parlor, kitchen, dining room, office, and back bedroom furniture are all listed (Figure 1). This tells us that the Moore home did have a formal parlor, as was common and expected of a family of their standing. The back bedroom furniture is also interesting, as this may refer to the potential purpose of the room built off of the kitchen. This could have been utilized as a servant's space, since it connected to the kitchen and pantry. Though a second hypothesis for the rooms use was as an office for Charles' law practice.

Clara's probate is sparser than Charles', counting only a bay horse, carriage, and harness as her property, as everything else had been transferred over to her daughter Mame by that time (Carnegie Library Probate Index 1905). This was very common, when property was inherited before the older generations' death. Mame followed in the same tradition, though she still held lots 7 and 8 in her name and equally distributed them between her husband and daughter at her death. As her husband and daughter were still living within the home they claimed what was inside and no thorough probate was conducted of the material.

Neely Family

Individuals that died in the Neely home left behind less of a probate record trail, only Jennie has an existing probate inventory and will. As Jennie was the last of her siblings to live and she herself had no children, she left the Neely family, including the furnishings and other possessions, to a cousin and nephew. Because of this, the probate record is detailed, down to the types of dishes inside the home.

The probate was conducted after her death in 1911. Since this was only a decade after her father's death and the two had lived in the home together for many years, it is likely that the furniture and décor within the home did not change substantially from his death. Two types of ceramics are listed in the probate that will be discussed later, Queensware and Chinaware. Additionally four bedroom suites were recorded in the listing, pointing to four bedrooms being set up at the time of Jennie's death. Many of the items seen in the inventory, such as the piano and stoves, were described by her father, Thomas, in his diary over the years as well and create a picture of what the home looked like during the mid-to-late nineteenth century

All of the data described here, both archaeologically and documentary, are vital to piecing together how life was lived. The probates of each family aid in understanding room use

in the homes, which was a key component to Victorian ideology and separation of genders within the home. The probates allow us to know that the Moore family considered their sitting room a parlor, a more formal use of the space that better aligns with Victorian ideals.

An Inventory of all the Personal and Real Estate				
of <u>Charles W. Moore</u> deceased, taken and appraised by <u>James Edward Haffner</u> and <u>Martin L. Meeker,</u> on the <u>26th</u> day of <u>February,</u> 189 <u>6,</u>				
No.	DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY.	Value of Property.		Value of Property.
		Est.	Cts.	Est.
1	One note, A. N. Shuttleworth, dated Nov 15/94, for 2000 -		00	
2	One note, C. R. Butler, dated Jan 1895, for \$1000		00	
3	One note, M. L. Chapman, dated Oct 1/95, for \$1000, endorsed by White Pine Lumber Co.	45	00	
4	One note, J. W. Smith, dated Jan 1/96, for \$1000, endorsed by J. W. Smith and J. W. Smith, Jr.		00	
5	One note, J. W. Smith, dated Jan 1/96, for \$1000, endorsed by J. W. Smith and J. W. Smith, Jr.		00	
6	Parlor Carpet - 35 yds.	17	00	
7	1 Oak Chair office	6	00	
8	Hall & Stair Carpet - 75 yds 20	1	80	
9	Dining Room Carpet 35" Dr	4	00	
10	Dining " Table	2	00	
11	6 Dining " Chairs	2	00	
12	1 wire cot	1	00	
13	1 Kitchen stove & furniture	10	00	
14	Back Bed room carpet	1	50	
15	Bed room stove gas and	2	00	
16	1 sewing chair	1	50	
17	1 Matting 20 yds 10	2	00	
18	2 Rugs	3	00	
19	1 set furniture modern	20	00	
20	3 pair Laces	1	00	
21	1 parlor stove	6	00	
		\$161.30		

FIGURE 5-3: Charles Moore probate record; parlor and office furniture highlighted (photo by author, 2019)

Chapter 6 Analysis

Several types of analyses are needed to look at the full scope of each family to understand the variability between each family. We must examine how the Neely family is similar and different from the Moore family and how the Huddleston family vary from the Bronnenberg family to understand the variation that can exist in between sites in rural and urban settings. This comparative work was done through a variety of means: architecture, material culture, and landscape, which were all outlined in chapter 2.

Summary of Architecture at Sites

Through time each house in this study underwent changes. These changes have been tracked through time to understand the driving forces behind the architectural changes and the history of each house is described in as much detail as is available, though each house does have an adequate amount of documentation to give an accurate history. Each house does not have the same amount of detail available about when it was built, or renovated. Other considerations given in this section are the technological changes inside the house, such as plumbing and electric.

Neely Family

The Neely home was the last of the four homes in this study to be built. In 1851 Thomas Neely purchased lot 1 and 2 of section 6 in Coffeens addition of Muncie (Delaware County Deed Record book 18: 374). Eleazer Coffeen originally platted the addition in 1830 and the lots were slowly sold over the next few decades. Thomas purchased the two lots for \$200 and in 1852 began building his family home.

The original home was a two room wide by two room deep building, but underwent extensive renovations through the years. The first major renovation was adding a second floor to the home in 1869. It appears that the home had some type of upper floor already, but it may have been an attic and not a true second floor, which is what was added. The washhouse was also turned into a kitchen in 1869. Another renovation was undertaken in 1872, the old dining room was torn down and rebuilt so that it connected to the kitchen. These renovations almost tripled the value of the home, from an estimated value of \$600 in the 1869 audit book to \$1600 in the 1873 book. The house was again enlarged in 1880. The southern wall of the kitchen was removed to enlarge the room. A second floor was also added above the kitchen and dining room and a back staircase put in. In 1885 a large front porch was erected, changing the appearance of the home, as previously there was only a small portico at the front door, as seen in the 1884 bird's eye map of Muncie.

As was mentioned when discussing Victorian architecture, these types of renovations could be done to rework a floor plan and create a more Victorian home within, even if the addition could not be seen from the street. While Thomas never explicitly states the reasoning for redesigning his home, we can examine the changes made to aid in determining his reasoning. We know that the family kept up to date on trends and technology and reason would follow that this also extended into the architecture and layout of their home. They were community leaders in Muncie and very often held meetings for various groups in their home. This fact alone lends to the hypothesis that some of the home renovations were done to keep up with the changing trends and modernization. Opposite of purely aesthetic reasons is the fact that who lived in the home was constantly in flux, potentially causing Thomas and Matilda to feel cramped at times and

aiding their decision to expand their home, to allow for a more comfortable living situation for all and a reason to update the aesthetics of the home as well.

The Neely home was one that adopted gas and indoor plumbing early. Gas began to be piped in Muncie in 1879 and by January of 1880 the home had gas pipes installed in their home for lighting and slowly began to buy gas stoves for cooking and heating (Neely Diary October 20, 1879; January 15, 1880). Shortly after they had gas installed, they also had telephone wires put into the home as well (Neely Diary March 25, 1880). In 1882 they began to use indoor plumbing, they had a bathtub installed that had both hot and cold water plumbed to it and in 1885 they built a water closet in the home (December 28, 1882; November 2, 1885). The family was quick to adopt these new amenities available in Muncie and other technologies, such as the early form of a vacuum cleaner. This quick adoption of technologies likely had less to do with personal preferences, but with the fact that they had these technologies available to them when other small towns or villages were unable to provide such services to their inhabitants.

We know a great deal of detail about the specific rooms of the Neely home and their uses. Thomas often complained about the parlor and did not often use it, as they also had a sitting room in their home. The family kept their piano and sewing machine in their sitting room at times and Thomas described what a typical night in their sitting room was in his diary. He described his wife Matilda knitting while he writes in his diary and two guests are with them, one sewing and the other playing the piano (October 27, 1873). This is an example of a typical evening spent in a family's sitting room.

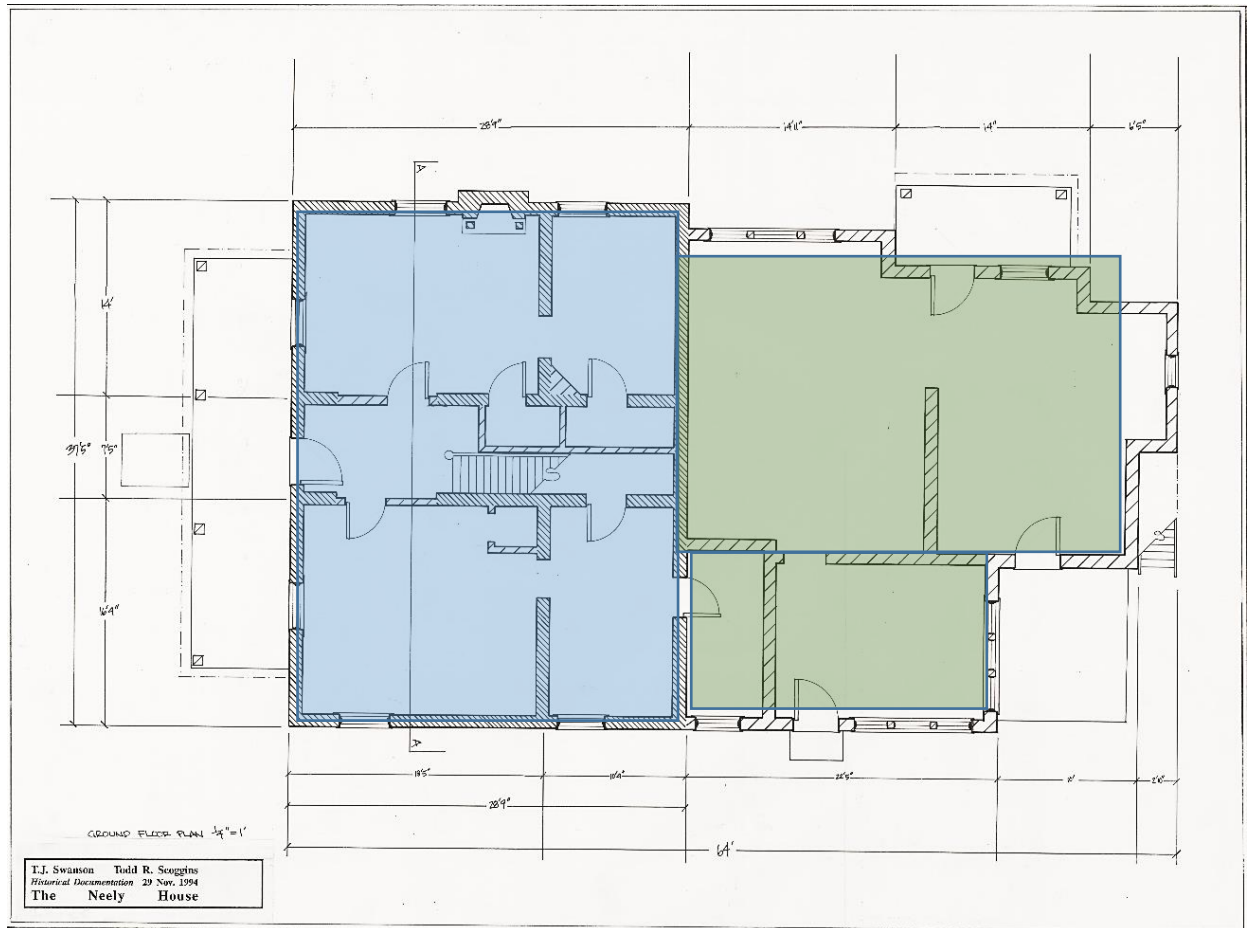


FIGURE 6-1: First floor of Neely house (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

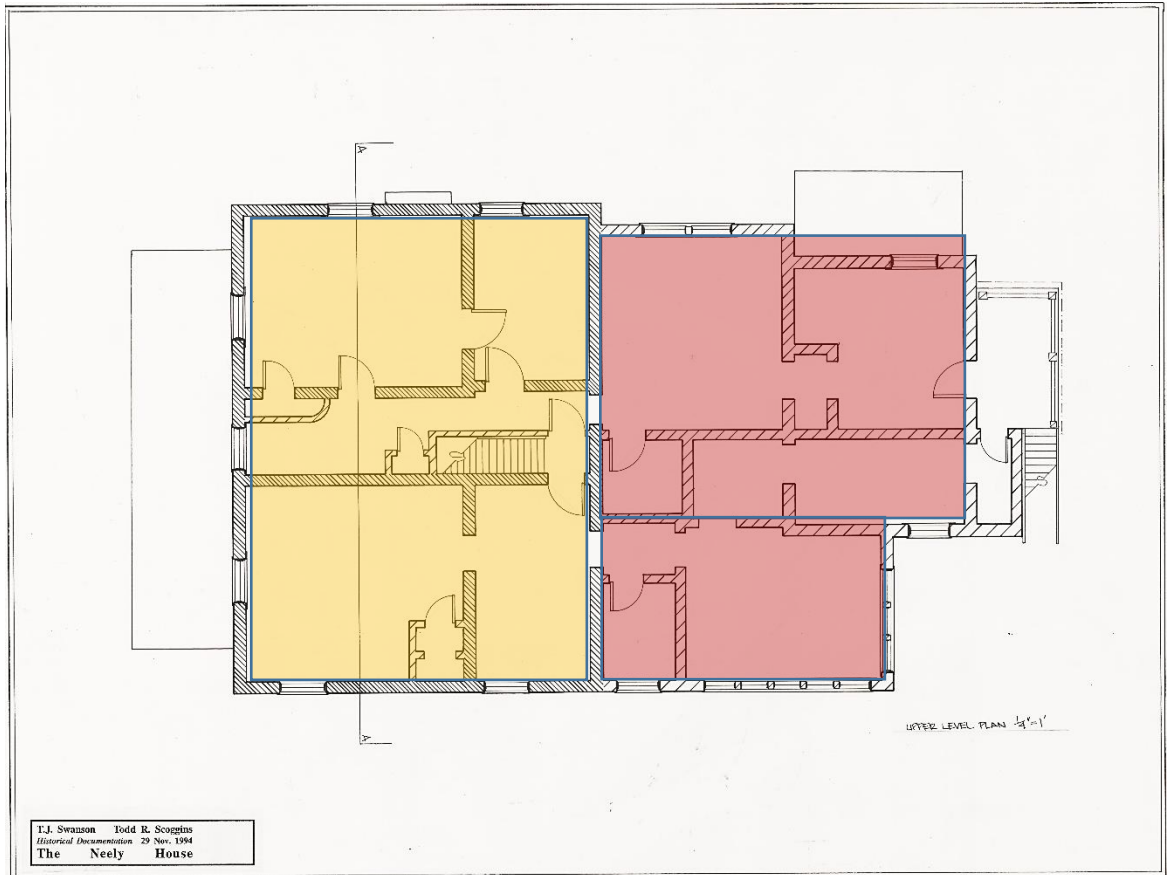


FIGURE 6-2: Second floor of Neely House (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

Moore-Youse Family

The Moore-Youse house is the oldest house standing in Muncie today, it stands on the corner of Mulberry Street and East Washington Street. The property contains two lots, 7 and 8 of block 9 in Gilbert's addition. The lots were originally owned by Goldsmith Gilbert, an early European migrant into the region, and then passed to his daughter, Mary Jane Andrews, in 1844. The lots were then sold to Anderson and Lavina Carter in 1849 (Blanch 2006: 61). In 1864 the Carter's sold the lots to Samuel Porter Wilson, Clara's father (Delaware County Deed Record Book 26: 196). Samuel then gave the lots to Clara and Charles, interestingly putting a lot in each of their names, though later Charles transferred the second lot into Clara's name in 1868 (deed record book 26: 384; deed record book 31: 437-438).

No records exist for when exactly a home was first built on the property, though a letter to Mame from Deborah Carson indicates that a home of some kind was on the lot by 1848, as Deborah had been born there in that year (Blanch 2006: 57; Delaware County Historical Society 1932). Tax records collaborate this claim, as improvements are recorded to have been made to the lot between 1846 and 1850 (Blanch 2006: 72). There is evidence that the improvements seen in the tax records between 1846 and 1850 were the beginning of a structure with a stone foundation, which is still a part of the Moore-Youse house foundation in the southwest corner. This foundation is different from the rest of the houses brick foundation and may be a remnant of that earlier structure (Blanch 2006: 72; Garriot 1996). What was built over that original structure in the late 1850's was a two-story frame I-house.

The Moore house began as a typical two room by two room when the family first moved in. Tax records show several different additions to the home through the next few decades,

beginning with improvements made in 1868. During this period of time the valuation of the improvements to the property jumped from \$150.00 to \$700.00 (Blanch 2006: 72; Delaware County Assessor 1869-1872). This first improvement to the home was the addition of two rooms to the north of the existing home, highlighted in orange in figure 4 (Garriot 1994). This first addition changed the configuration of the home, as well as how guests would have entered the home. Part of this addition was an entrance hall on a side entrance, which would normally be associated with the front door. By putting this hall at the side entrance, it would have been the main door used by visitors, as it provided a place for their coats and hats and equal access to both of the public spaces of the home, the dining room and parlor. With this addition the family began the process of Victorianizing their home.

Another addition was put onto the house between 1872 and 1875, adding two more rooms to create a new kitchen and pantry, this is the portion shown in green in figure 4 (Blanch 2006: 72; Garriot 1995). A third addition was completed in approximately 1883 to add the second floor rooms above the newer additions to the home and adding a smaller one room to the back of the kitchen and pantry, giving the home a new value of \$1,400.00 (Blanch 2006: 75; Garriot 1995; DCA 1880-1885). During these renovations the family also added a bathroom to the second floor of the house.

The final addition to the home was made between 1883 and 1887. At this point porches were added to the west and south entrances to the house. The northern back porch appears to have already been built by 1883, likely as part of the earlier 1875 renovations. The porches provided the final Victorian touch to this home and was likely when the home made its transition from I-house to folk Victorian, with its ornate cornices and porches.

As was discussed above, in the probate inventory section, we do know what some of the spaces were used for in the house. The Moore home had a parlor, but no sitting room. All of their evenings would have been spent in their more formal parlor. The Moore home also did have an office off of the parlor, a space that would have been for Charles' use. This space at one point did have its own outside door, making it a public space within the home and an expressly masculine room because of this and its likely use as Charles law office early on. This room has double doors leading into the parlor, allowing it to be closed off and keeping the two public spaces of the home separated for separate uses.

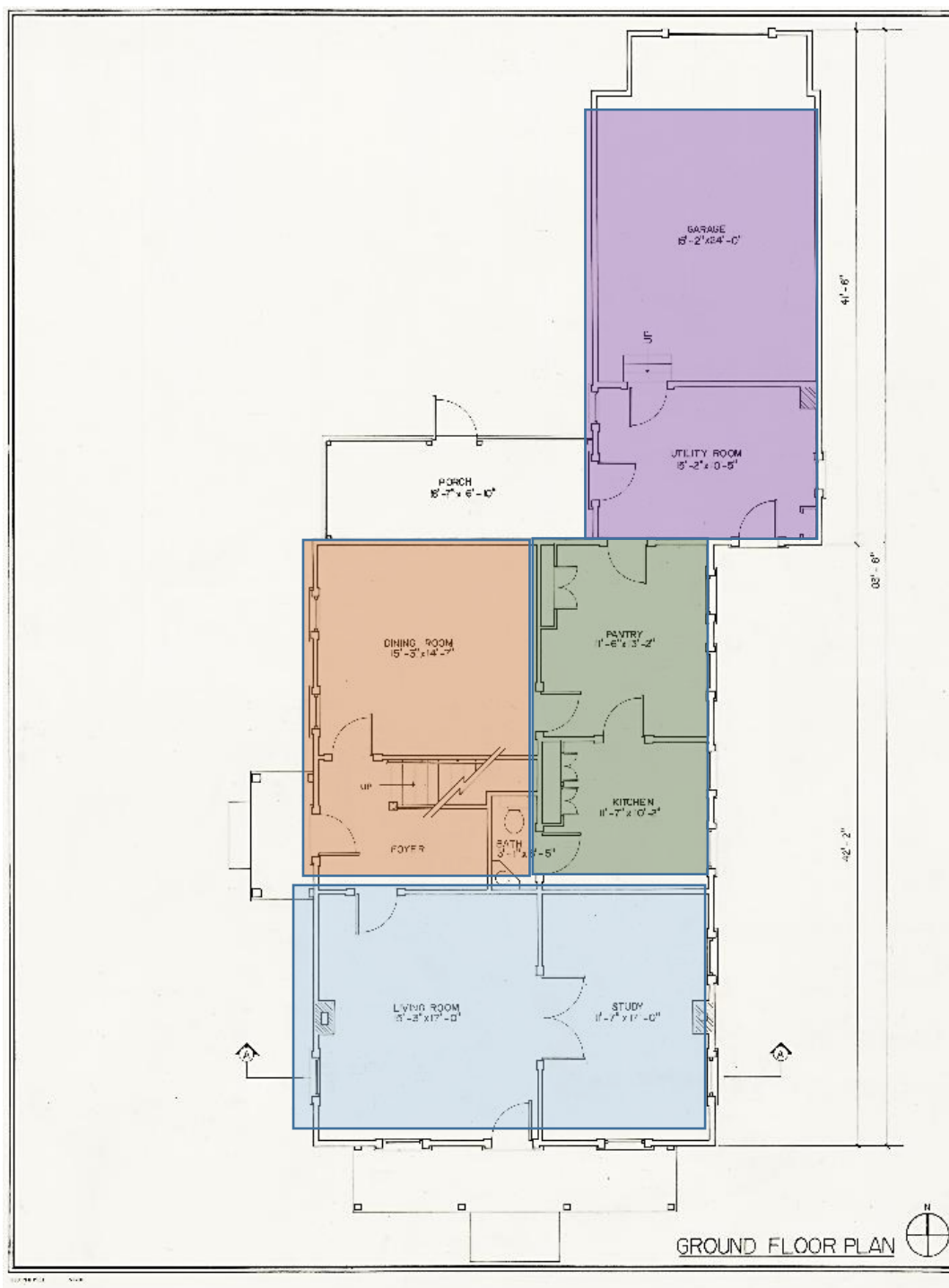


FIGURE 6-3: Moore-Youse house first floor plan (courtesy of Ball State Archives)



FIGURE 6-4: Moore-Youse house second floor (courtesy of Ball State Archives)

Huddleston Family

The Huddleston home is a three-story federal style home with an ell. The bottom floor functioned as an inn and workspace, while the top two floors were the family living space. The home was built sometime after 1839, when the property was purchased by John Huddleston, likely completed no later than 1841 (Reed 1972; Lautzenhauser 2010: 122). However one source, a memoir written by Samuel Brown Huddleston, a cousin, recalls John, Henry, and Levi making the bricks for the home in 1844. In this same piece Samuel says that the John first built a small short cabin on the property for the family. He then shortly replaced it with a hewn timber house, which they lived in until the standing brick home was completed (1911). Perhaps Samuel had misremembered the year in which John had built the home, but there is no way to definitively say in what year the standing brick home was completed. It is also possible that the family was making bricks in 1844, but not for the home. Instead bricks being made in 1844 could have been for any outbuildings found on the property.

The house itself is a rather large home, with two floors that the family lived in and a basement for travelers and business. The first floor consists of a sitting room, a parlor, a dining room, and a kitchen in the ell. The second floor held five bedrooms for the family. Below the family home is an English basement with three rooms, two of which were used for traveler's until John's death and the third a work or store room that could also be utilized to generate additional income from the many travelers right outside their door on the National Road.

The large house would have been much needed for the large families of John and Susannah and Henry and Sarah. There are several unusual elements to the home, besides the size of it, one being the entrances to the home. The layout of the English basement precludes the home from having a true front entrance, and the front entryway is a staircase from the basement

room up into the dining room. Additionally there are entrances on the west side of the ell, eastern side of the sitting room, southern side of the parlor, and southern side of the basement. This leads the house to not have a true foyer or receiving space for guests, the only one of the four houses in this study to not.

Another interesting piece of the home is the fact that the family had both a sitting room and parlor, something many rural people avoided, as it had negative connotations associated with a lack of family cohesion and their ill opinion of urban neighbors (McMurray 1988). We will never know the reasoning for this extra room, but it could be as simple as having too much space for only two rooms and creating three because of ample space. The formal parlor was most likely the easternmost room, as it was larger, accessible from the same hallway as the dining room, and far from the kitchen. The smaller western room would have been a more private space, with easy access to the kitchen (Figure 6-6).

Each successive generation in the Huddleston family to take ownership of the property made some renovations to the property, though many were minor. Once Henry took over the property he did some renovations to the basement rooms, since they were no longer being used as rooms for travelers. He modified the rooms to better suit the needs of himself and his family. It does not appear that any of the changes made were specifically meant to follow trends of the mid nineteenth century, but to make the farm home function more smoothly for its inhabitants. The house remained an example of plain Quaker living, without the ornate Victorian wood work on the exterior or interior that many other homes would have been subjected to during the same period.

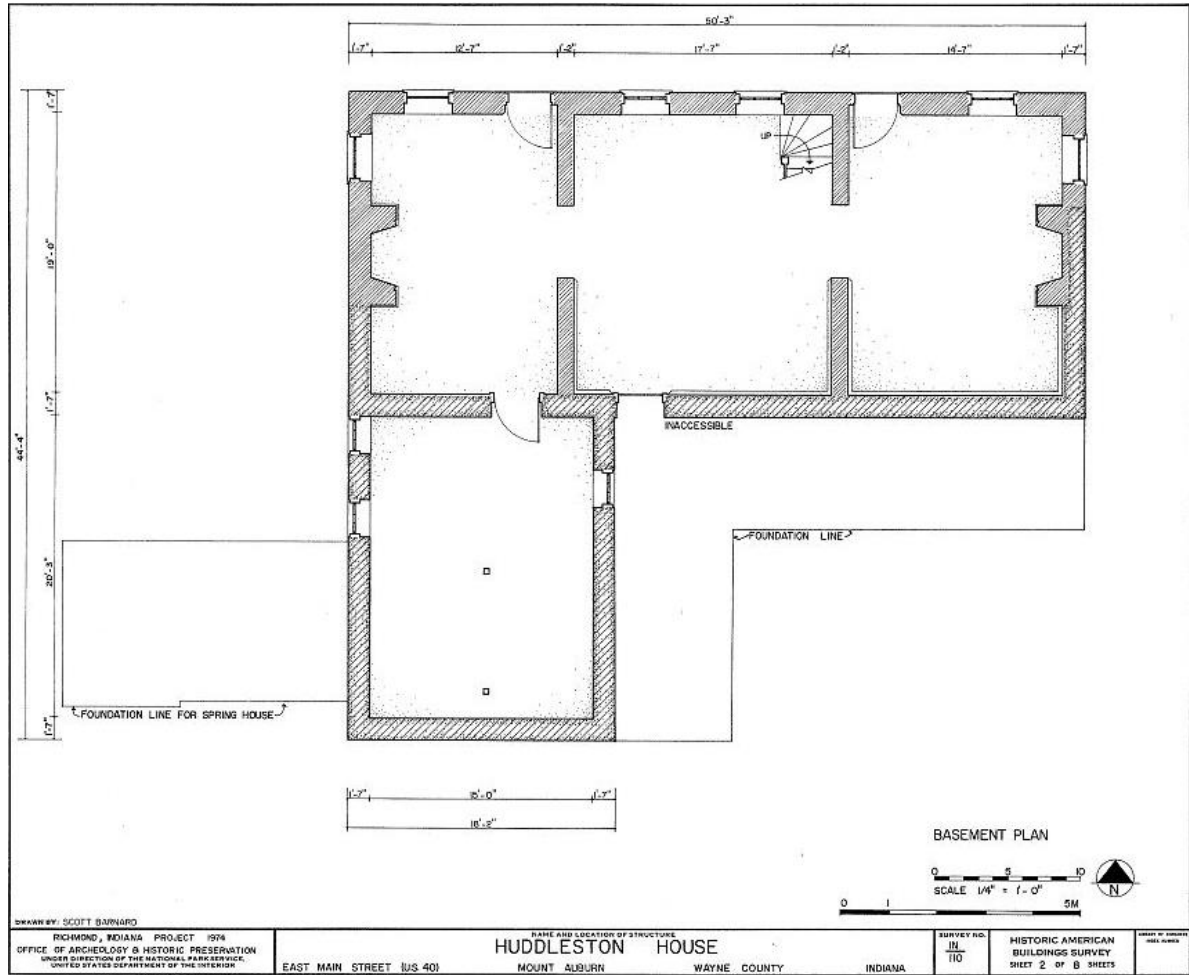


FIGURE 6-5 Huddleston house basement (courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey)

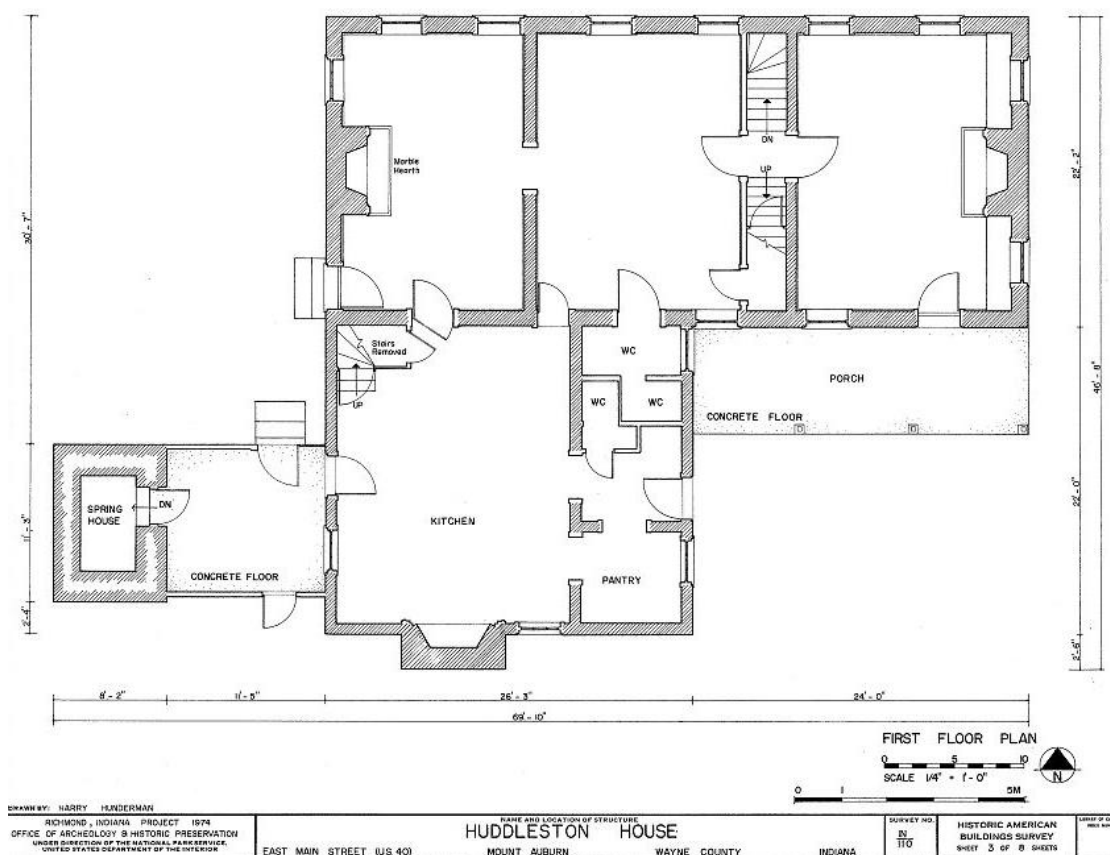


FIGURE 6-6: Huddleston House first floor (courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey)

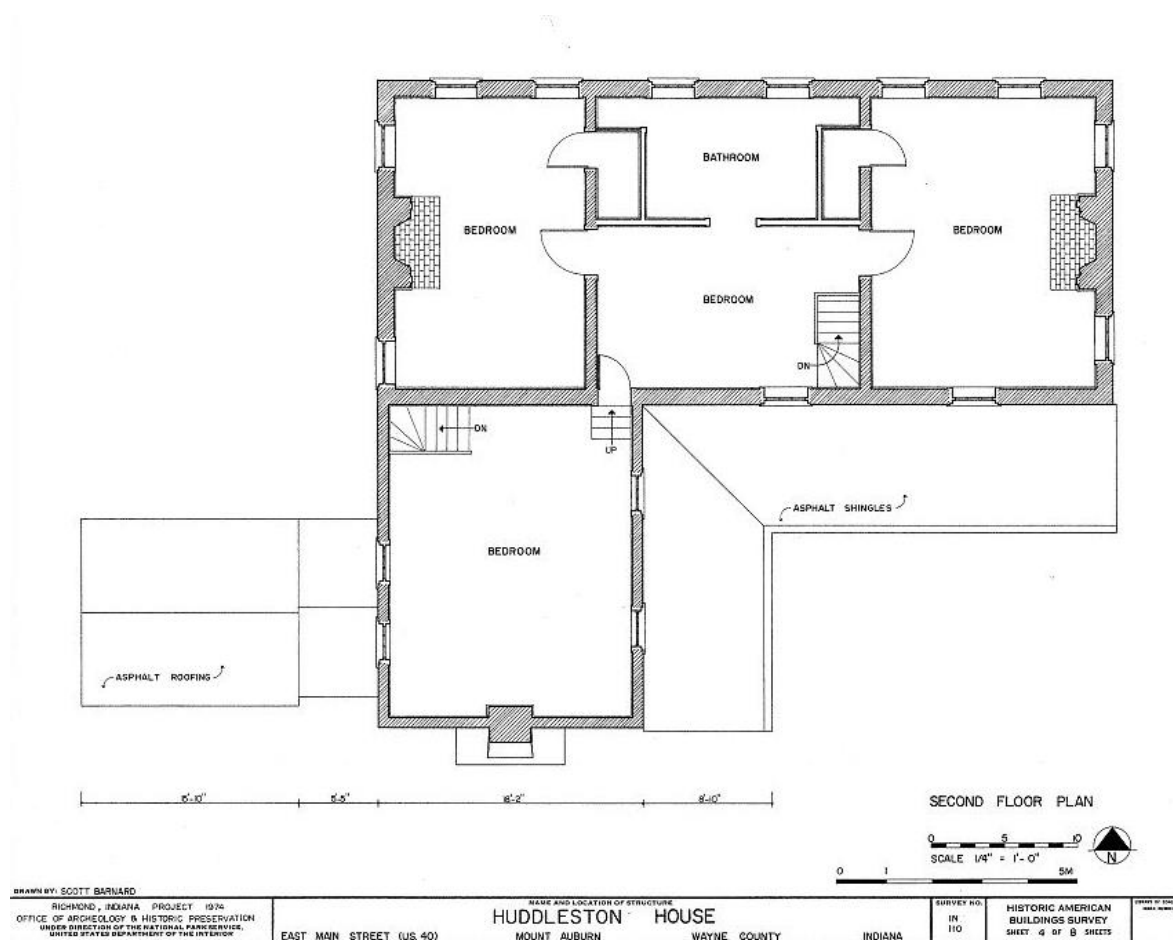


FIGURE 6-7: Huddleston house second floor (courtesy of Historic American Buildings Survey)

Bronnenberg Family

The brick home that stands in Mounds State Park today was the family home of the Bronnenberg family from approximately 1850 to 1930, when the property became a park. The home was built by Frederick Jr. and Huldah. The date the home was built is unknown, but was likely built sometime between 1842 and 1850. These dates are based on several factors: we know that by 1842 Frederick Jr. had not bought the property yet, but in 1850 he and Huldah appear on the census in Union township in their own household. Unfortunately the property records for this period have been destroyed by a fire, leaving us unable to pinpoint an exact date (McCord 2007). The original home built by Frederick was an ell shaped federal style home with three rooms on the first floor with a large back porch and two on the second floor. The house had a dining room and sitting room in typical style for the day, with an additional room behind the parlor that was likely utilized as an office as it had its own side entrance, though it may have been utilized as a second sitting room.

The home was later added onto by Ransom and Sarah in approximately 1870, they enclosed the back porch to create a kitchen and added two rooms, one on top of the newly enclosed porch and one above the ell room. Doing this added two new bedrooms in the back of the house for their large family (Swearingen 2002). However the bedroom added above the ell of the house was originally only accessible through a private back staircase. This feature has led to be interpreted as a servant's room by Mounds State Park (Nocton 2008). They also added a cellar underneath the new kitchen. Prior to enclosing the porch for a kitchen, the family had a summer kitchen and smokehouse separately behind the brick home (McCord 2006). The exact date this kitchen house was built is unknown, but was likely built near the time the home was built.

The family kept the exterior of their home simple, the only change to it through the years was the white washing, to hide the various different colored bricks that had been used through the years for repairs and additions. During the Bronnenberg years they never had a porch on the front of their home, keeping it a flat federal style front. They did have a small side porch, which likely served as separate entrance to the back room of the home that may have been a separate office for the family's many business ventures. Today a porch does exist on the back of the home, but this has been noted as a more recent addition.

Aspects of the home that did not change through time were the plumbing and electricity. In a 1982 site report, Jesse Little, a former park manager who lived in the home, is reported to have stated that the home still did not have either electricity or plumbing in the 1950's (Buehrig & Hicks 1982). This would have been typical of a home out in the countryside, distant from city amenities during the nineteenth century, though it does pose a striking comparison to the Moore and Neely homes, who had gas and plumbing in the late nineteenth century.

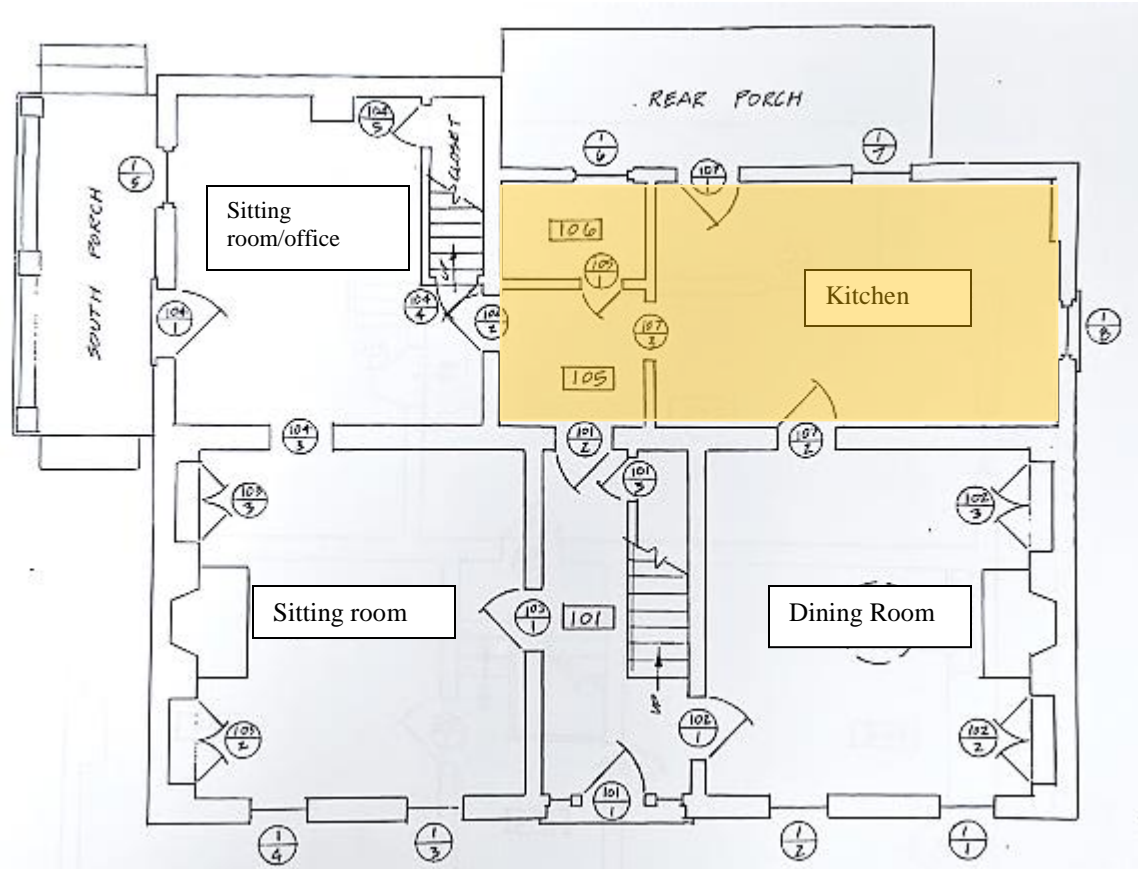


FIGURE 6-8: First Floor of Bronnenberg house (Swearingen 2002); addition by Ransom highlighted

Summary of sites architecture

The table below summarizes the details of the architecture of each house. Each house varies in size, style, renovations, and renovations.

Characteristic	Neely	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
Architectural style	Greek revival	Folk Victorian/ I-house	Federal	Federal
Date original house built	1852	1850's	1839-1844	1842-1850
Number of rooms after renovations	14	12	13	8
House material	Brick	Wood	Brick	Brick
Renovation dates	1869-1885	1868-1887	No renovations to home	1870
Date of modern utility installations	1880	1880's	unknown	1930's

TABLE 6-1: Architectural summary by site (author 2020)

What we can begin to see through the description of each house over time is that the two urban houses were invested in more heavily over time, while the rural houses were left as they began through the years. Neither of the rural families appeared to be concerned with adding more space or detail to their homes, instead leaving them as more utilitarian spaces in general. Meanwhile the two urban families adapted their homes to the new trends of the Victorian era that were first described in chapter 3.

Material Culture Analysis

“Goods were critical to the workings of Victorian culture and any...attempt to understand that culture must take those goods into account”- Kenneth L. Ames, 1992

Material culture is at the base of this research, without it we would not be able to examine the families beyond how documents describe them. Material culture is a record of everyday life for each of these families. This study analyzes the ceramic assemblages of each family individually and the entire assemblage together to understand how these families were using goods to express their ideology or using goods to actively avoid an ideology.

Ceramic descriptions

Ceramics are an incredibly useful material for archaeologists attempting to reconstruct social and economic life of a household. The trends of ceramics have been studied enough to create a fine grained timeline of them through the 19th century which can be useful for dating deposits and understanding the length of time ceramics were used in a home. It should be noted that many of the terms defined in this section were not used by potters in the 19th and 20th centuries, or used in different context. The terms as they are used today have been continually used by historians and archaeologists to categorize ceramics in a usable way. However these are modern categorizations of ceramics, there are often disputes as to manufacture dates of the ware types and what characteristics definitively put a specific ceramic in a ware type (Majewski and O'Brien 1987; Miller 1980).

CERAMIC TYPES

Redware

Two types of ceramics are known as utilitarian wares that would have most often been used in kitchens for food preparation and storage, these were redware and stoneware. Redware is the earlier of the two types, an unrefined earthenware that was typically a locally made from red clay. Redware was most often lead glazed when used for kitchen tasks, but can also be found unglazed, mainly in relation to its use as flowerpots. Redware was relatively inexpensive and has often been associated with lower socio-economic status, especially when found in abundance at a site, though as we will see later this assumption can be misleading (Clancey 2004: 7).

Stoneware

Stoneware is different from redware because it is not a porous ceramic. It has had a long manufacture life, beginning in the 17th century in the United States, and was produced regionally (Ketchum 1991). With such an extended time depth stoneware is only able to be temporally placed based on its glaze and decoration type. The most prominent early glaze was a salt glaze treatment, which began to be used by German potters in the fifteenth century and continued to be used into the nineteenth century (Ketchum 1991). This salt glaze was later paired with an Albany slip on vessels which dates the vessels from approximately 1800 to 1880. After 1880 the salt glaze began to be replaced with Bristol glaze, a lighter finish that was still paired with the Albany slip.

Yellowware

Yellowware is a type of refined earthenware. It is a yellow colored paste and was often glazed yellow as well. It was an American made ceramic that gained popularity during a period in which British produced ceramics were the most popular (Clancey 2004). It began to be produced around 1830 and was produced until the 1940's (Miller et al 2000: 12).

Rockingham is a type of decoration that can be found on both yellowware, stoneware, and redware ceramics. It was an inexpensive dark brown mottled glaze decoration type that had limited utilitarian forms, such as teapots, spittoons, pitchers, and mixing bowls (Clancey 2004: 72). It was manufactured from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. This decoration type has been associated with rural homes more than urban ones (Clancey 2004).

Mocha, a second type of decoration that is found on yellowware is typically composed of brown, yellow, cream, and occasionally blue.

White Bodied Wares

In an archaeological context there are three ceramic ware types that are grouped under ‘white bodied wares’, whiteware, ironstone, and pearlware. These three wares can be difficult to distinguish from one another and at times are left grouped together in artifact analyses. I have chosen to separate and identify each ware to be as accurate as possible in my analysis as each of these types represent different periods and uses that can be important to site interpretation.

Pearlware

Pearlware is the oldest of the three white bodied wares. It is a white paste earthenware with a clear to bluish tinted glaze. It is identified by the bluish tint of pooled glaze found on artifacts (Miller 1980). If a blue glaze is not seen on the artifact, it is likely identified as whiteware, a problematic point to identifying 19th century ceramics. Pearlware had a relatively short manufacture period as it was only manufactured from approximately 1775 to the 1820’s (DAACS 2018; Miller 1980).

Pearlware was often decorated by hand painting. Warm polychromes and blue are associated with pearlware, though other decorative elements are also possible as pearlware was constantly changing (Miller 1980).

Whiteware

Whiteware is a white paste earthenware that developed out of pearlware. It began to be manufactured in the 1820's (Miller 1980). It looks very similar to pearlware, though it has a white glaze as opposed to clear or blue tinted. Whiteware

Whiteware has several common types of decoration that are seen at all three sites. The earliest type of decoration was hand-painted motifs, often floral polychrome patterns. The polychrome associated with whiteware used cool tones, while warm tones were associated with pearlware (DAACS 2014). This decoration style can be found throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, though it lost some popularity to transfer prints.

Transfer printing began to be used in the 1790's. These prints were applied to the ceramic and were then typically glazed over. Transfer printing was applied to whiteware, pearlware, and creamware. The prints were done in multiple colors through time. Each of these colors and the designs of the print are temporally sensitive and identifiable. Prints in deep blue are earliest and after 1830 a lighter shade of blue was used, by the mid-nineteenth century other colors such as black, brown, red, and purple were used.

Another popular decoration was shell edge. This decoration was used on both pearlware and whiteware. This decoration changed through time but is typically a scalloped edge with impressed lines around the rim that were either straight or waved. This decoration began to be used in the late eighteenth century and maintained popularity into the twentieth century. The earliest forms had both scalloped edges and impressed lines, this changed throughout the nineteenth century to first remove the scalloped edges and then by the late nineteenth century the impressed lines were also removed in favor of only painted lines on the rim.

Gilded decoration are a simple décor on ceramics, a single line of gold near the rim of the vessel. When it was first produced the gilding was expensive, but became much cheaper to produce and purchase after 1870 and became a more common decoration (Blanch 2006: 138).

Ironstone

Ironstone China, as it was often referred to, was created as a more economical alternative to porcelain. It looks very similar to whiteware, but it is sturdier refined earthenware than whiteware or pearlware. It began to be manufactured in approximately 1840 and was popular through the late 19th century into the 20th century. It was produced as plain white and also was manufactured with transfer prints, which were very popular (Miller 1980).

Porcelain

Porcelain is not as commonly found in the archaeological record, due to it being more valuable. Porcelain is often used as a socio-economic indicator, it is found less often at sites of lower socio-economic class (Miller 1980). This ceramic was manufactured first in China and Japan and then began to be manufactured in Europe. Porcelain was rarely undecorated and after 1880 it was common for porcelain to be decal decorated (Miller 1980).

Comparative Ceramics

All of these ceramic types and decoration types have been found at the sites used in this research. The point of going through each type is to showcase the variety of choices available to each family when they were purchasing ceramics. Several factors would have gone into the decision making process of each individual including price, trends, and personal preference.

Before exploring each individual family's material culture, the idea of women as the primary consumer needs to be further explored in regards to ceramics and tableware. Diana Wall's research goes through the changing nature of ceramics becoming more elaborate through

time in New York City (1994). As women took greater responsibility for family morality, they began to ritualize dining routines, leading to greater consumption of ceramics. These practices began prior to the mid nineteenth century in New York City, but in the Midwest likely would have begun later in time and perhaps not as strictly. Often these more ritualized meals appear at the same time as dining rooms and we know when each family in this study had dining rooms or expanded dining rooms built. Below is each family's known material culture detailed that can be used to discuss how each family expressed their culture.

NEELY

The Neely home has never been excavated, but a few details are available via Jennie's probate inventory. The inventory lists both chinaware and queensware in the inventory. Queensware was first used to describe a specific type of creamware made by Josiah Wedgwood. Through the years queensware came to be used as a general term for any inexpensive refined ceramic imported from Britain, including whiteware (Mazrim and Walthall 2002). The queensware in the probate inventory is most likely whiteware based upon the date-1911. Additionally it was listed specifically as "queensware in the kitchen" which further points to it being an inexpensive whiteware for daily use.

The second type listed- chinaware, was likely a more decorative set of porcelain dishes for special use. They are listed alongside glassware and silverware and given a much higher value than the queensware. This was typical of many homes, to have an everyday set of ceramics and a higher end set of ceramics for special use.

MOORE-YOUSE

The Moore family also had a specific set of matching tableware for more formal occasions, a set of Haviland Limoges gilded porcelain. This set of tableware is still in the home

and was clearly valued by the family through the years. Beyond this set of matching tableware is appears from the archaeological record, as well as is what is still within the home, that the family did not value having matching sets of tableware. During excavation ironstone, porcelain, whiteware, yellowware, pearlware, creamware, redware, and stoneware were all found (figure 6-10). There was a great amount of variety in the decoration of the ceramics as well and from analysis of the decoration there are few, if any, that represent more than a single piece of ceramic. This points to the family having no matching tableware sets beyond the prized porcelain that still resides in the home. There were multiple types of hand painted, transfer print, and shell edged decoration on the ceramics.

What we can see in the Moore data is that the family was holding on to older ceramics for longer, pearlware, yellowware and creamware are all present in the assemblage while ironstone represents a very small part of the assemblage. Further evidence of the family holding on to older ceramics is the ratio of redware to stoneware. Redware became less popular with manufacturers in the mid nineteenth century as production began to shift to stoneware vessels (Kelly 2013). However the Moore women continued to choose and use redware at a higher rate than stoneware through time, as the redware is found in both early and late deposits at the site.

Previous analysis conducted on this site included a time sequence analysis conducted in part with the ceramic assemblage. This method, developed by Groover (2003), uses fine grain excavation levels to determine deposition periods that can then be linked to households. Through time sequence analysis a peak period of ceramic purchasing was determined, the 1860's (Blanch 2006). This date also confirms that the Moore women were keeping ceramics and not replacing older styles with newer. When examining individual wares, the peaks spread out slightly, but most ceramics were still purchased by the 1870's. When examining the assemblage by

decoration type, there doesn't appear to be any significant change in preference of decoration through time and transfer printed ceramics were the most common throughout time and had longevity compared to the shell edged, which was only used in the home from the time the family moved in until 1880. After 1880 only transfer prints and hand painted ceramics were being used, in addition to plain ceramics (Blanch 2006).

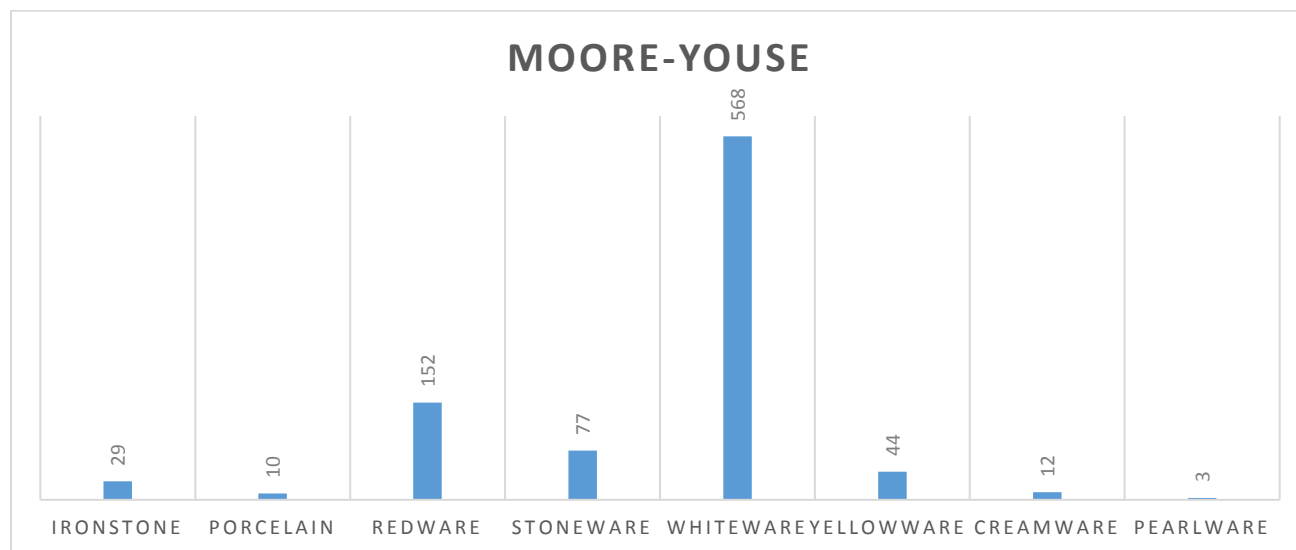


FIGURE 6-10: Moore-Youse ceramics by ware (author 2020)

HUDDLESTON

The Huddleston site had the smallest overall assemblage but the highest percentage of ceramics of the three sites with 13.9 percent. The Huddleston site had a higher rate of stoneware than redware, more than double the amount of stoneware, suggesting that they were replacing their utilitarian ware through time.

Only 15 percent of refined ceramics at the site were decorated. Among the decorated ceramics were hand painted, transfer print, annular banded, mocha, sponged, shell edged, Rockingham, decal, and molded ceramics. None of these decoration types represent a set complete set of dishes.

When a time sequence analysis was conducted on the ceramics of the site it revealed a peak in the 1890's (Lautzenheiser 2010). This can be interpreted in two ways, the first interpretation is that during the late 1880's and into the 1890's there was increased consumption within the home. It is unknown who all was living in the home in 1890, but likely the inhabitants were Phoebe, Henry, Sarah, and their three sons, though Sarah died in 1899. A second interpretation which seems more likely is that this sudden increase is due to two households being merged into one when Henry, Sarah, and their children moved back into the family home in 1885. They likely would have had more than enough ceramics to be less concerned about keeping them all and perhaps even discarding older types if newer ceramics were already available to them. This second interpretation of the data matches more closely with an established pattern seen with the cyclical nature of rural households, when families shrink and grow routinely over generations (Groover 2004).

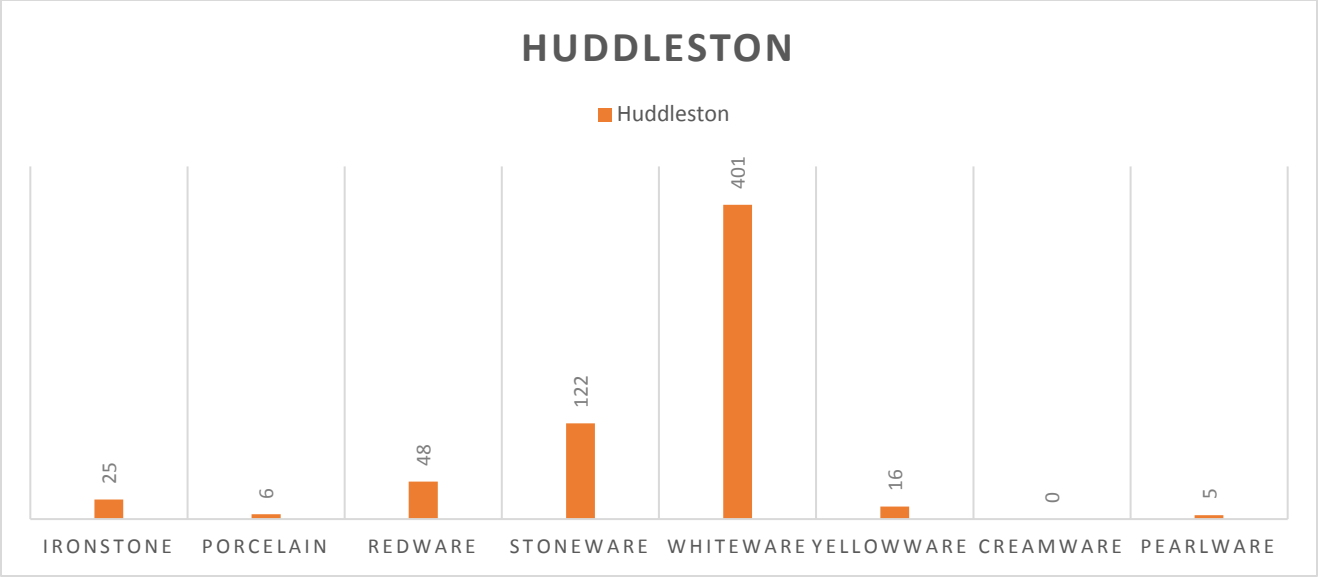


FIGURE 6-11: Huddleston ceramics by ware (author 2020)

BRONNENBERG

The Bronnenberg site had a much smaller assemblage to examine than the other households that have been excavated, with only 125 sherds collected in total. There is also slightly less variety in the types of ceramics found, no yellowware or creamware were found at the site. As with each site whiteware is the predominant ceramic found but at an incredibly lower rate than the other two sites.

Unfortunately a time sequence analysis of this site could not be conducted due to the methods employed over the many field seasons. Time sequence analysis requires fine grained excavation layers, but at the Bronnenberg house most data was collected using shovel test probes and a limited amount of excavation units that used 10 centimeter levels (Hicks 1981; McCord 2006; 2007). This does limit the analyses able to be conducted on the assemblage. Another way to examine the ceramic assemblage is by examining the ceramic dates of the different ware and decoration types. Based on the mean ceramic dates it appears that there were two main periods of ceramic purchasing done by the family, the 1860's and 1920's, with potential for the plain whiteware being bought during any point in time. While this is not the same fine grained analysis that time sequence analysis would provide, it does give some insight into the consumption trends of the Bronnenberg family. The first period aligns with the marriage of Ransom and Sarah and subsequent takeover of the household by Sarah at the end of the decade moving into the 1870's. The second period may represent the next household change, when Frederick III and Mary took over the household in the early 1900's. While this does not align perfectly with the mean ceramic dates, it is within the range of each of the decoration styles that have mean dates in the 1920's.

Even these two purchasing peaks of ceramics do not represent a significant portion of the total assemblage. The ceramics only represent 2.1 percent of what was left behind by the Bronnenberg family. This is a significantly smaller amount than any other site, in comparison.

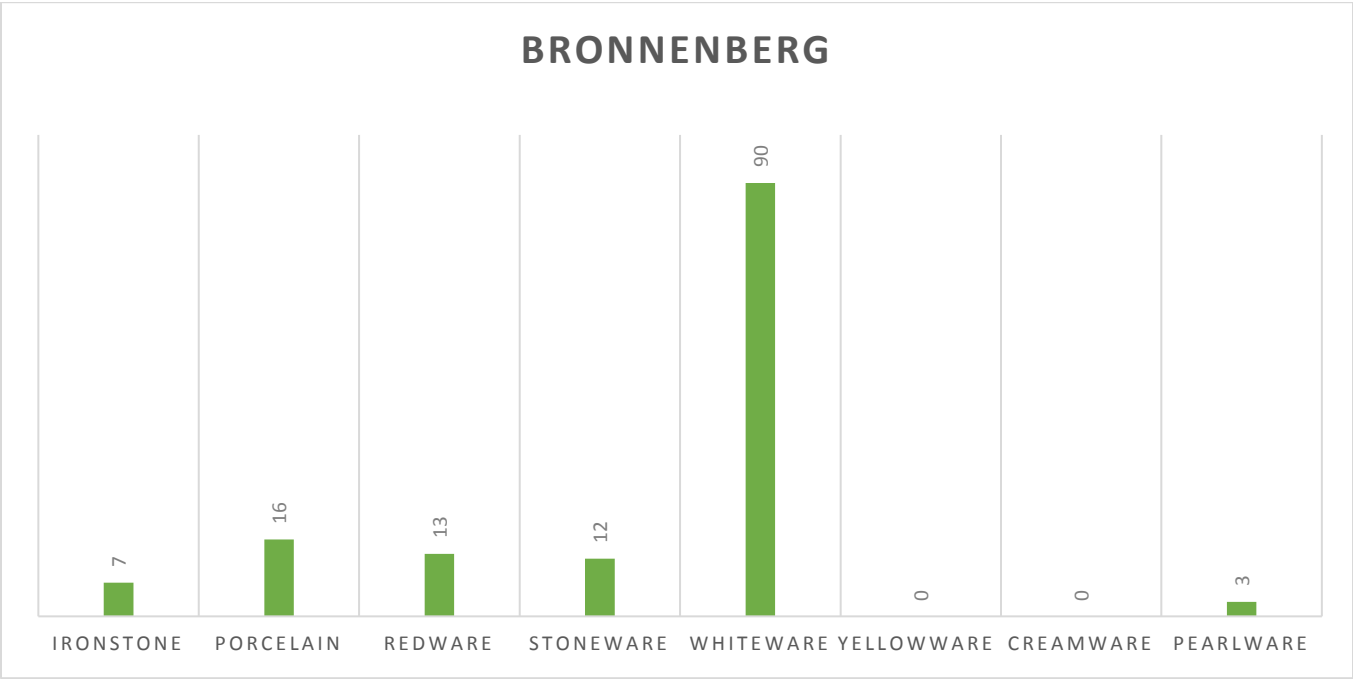


FIGURE 6-12: Bronnenberg ceramics by ware (author 2020)

SUMMARY OF CERAMIC ANALYSIS

As can be seen in in table 6-2 there is a good amount of variety between the three sites. All three have whiteware as their dominant ware type, but beyond that there was a great amount of choice about the ceramic types each family purchased. The Moore women preferred older utilitarian ware than the Huddleston or Bronnenberg families. The Bronnenberg household had a high rate of porcelain compared to either other household while the Huddleston household appear to have primarily used whiteware for all their needs, with little interest shown in any other type of refined ceramic and the Moore household kept a variety of refined ceramics. These differences begin to show the different attitudes among the women of each family toward ceramics, the Moore women invested more in the ceramics that would be used by guests and that would be seen by guests, spending less money on their utilitarian ware, while the Huddleston women invested more in stoneware, a more expensive utilitarian ware, instead of refined ceramics.

Another interesting result is that the Huddleston site had a similar ratio of ceramics to the entire assemblage as the Moore site, while the Bronnenberg site had a much lower ratio (figure 6-3). In the next section this analysis will be taken further, to explore the entire assemblage and how the ratio's within each compare.

Ware type	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
ironstone	3.2	4	5.1
porcelain	1.1	1	11.3
redware	17.1	7.7	9.2
stoneware	8.6	19.6	8.5
whiteware	63.5	64.3	63.8
yellowware	4.9	2.6	0
creamware	1.3	0	0
pearlware	0.3	0.8	2.1

TABLE 6-2: Ceramic wares by percentage (author 2020)

	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
Peak purchasing period	1860's	1890's	1860's & 1900's
% of ceramics in assemblage	13.1%	13.9%	2.1%

TABLE 6-3: Summary of ceramic analyses (author 2020)

Total assemblage comparison

Part of the assemblage comparison conducted was analyzing the artifact density of each site. This was done with only the shovel tests conducted at each site, as this is a more standardized method than the units excavated at each site. Additionally, each site had roughly the same amount of shovel tests conducted. The site with the highest artifact density based on shovel tests was the Bronnenberg site at 36.6 artifacts per positive shovel test, the Huddleston site had a density of 28.1, and the Moore-Youse site had a density of 26.5 (table 6-4). These artifact densities are significantly higher than the sites tested by Groover, though the pattern of functional categories does match that of the postbellum sites (2014). Table 6-5 shows that the architectural category represents the largest amount of artifacts, more than half of the total assemblage at the Huddleston and Bronnenberg sites. This category includes bricks, nails, and window glass predominantly, with some plaster, mortar, and other architectural elements. Noticeably the Moore-Youse site has a much higher rate of artifacts in the activities category, this is mainly comprised of coal and charcoal.

When non-household artifacts were removed from the density count, the densities of each site decrease significantly (table 6-6). The Bronnenberg density shows the most change, as the majority of the artifacts likely related to outbuildings and farming while their household goods were not discarded frequently. Interestingly the Huddleston site have the highest density rate, though this could be explained by the amount of individuals living in the house at any given time, as well as the fact that for several years the home was open to boarders. These density rates can be misleading, as was discussed above the women of each family were making very different decisions about how much money they were spending on ceramics and other household goods,

even though the density rates in table 6-6 suggest an even consumption rate across the households.

Site	Artifact Total	STP Total	Artifact Density
Moore-Youse	1722	65	26.5
Huddleston	1658	59	28.1
Bronnenberg	2049	56	36.6

TABLE 6-4: Total assemblage artifact density by site (author 2020)

Class	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
Activities	25.9%	5.5%	5.9%
Architecture	36.9%	53.7%	61.9%
Bone	10.1%	2.2%	1.4%
Clothes	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%
Kitchen	19.7%	26.9%	19.6%
Furniture	6.4%	0.1%	0.4%
Modern	0.2%	1.6%	2.1%
Personal	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%
Other	0.0%	8.7%	7.8%
Prehistoric	0.4%	0.7%	0.6%
Arms	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%

TABLE 6-5: Assemblage percentages by class (author 2020)

Site	Artifact Total	STP Total	Artifact Density
Moore-Youse	295	65	4.5
Huddleston	293	59	4.9
Bronnenberg	208	56	3.7

TABLE 6-6: Household artifacts density by site (author 2020)

Landscape analysis

Each excavation unit and shovel test pit at all three sites were labelled as being in the front yard, back yard, side front yard or side back yard. These classifications were used to compare the density of artifacts present in different areas of the property. Unfortunately, some of the material from both the Bronnenberg and Huddleston homes were unable to be used in this portion of the study, due to inadequate location descriptions of STP's in the case of the 1970's Bronnenberg data and missing artifacts and artifact inventory for the 1977 excavations at the Huddleston house. This brings up an important point when analyzing site data spatially, the location of the excavations inherently biases the interpretations. If excavation is primarily concentrated in a backyard with only cursory work in a front yard, the artifact counts will reflect that and appear as though the landscape has a higher artifact density in the backyard simply based on the amount of excavation conducted. The only way to avoid such biases is to plan equal excavation areas in each zone at a site, something that is often impractical and beyond the scope of work at a site. I have considered these biases of the data while conducting analysis and interpretation of each sites densities.

Neely House

While the Neely home does not have archaeological work associated with it, Thomas' diary does tell us a great deal about the Neely home. We know they had a garden and a variety of fruit trees in the yard. We also know that the home had a short fence around it. Additionally there is a Sanborn map of the property from 1896 that details outbuildings on the property (figure 6-13). The outbuilding with a cross through it in the southwest corner of the lots is a stable and barn. The other two buildings on the property are a washhouse, which at times doubled as a work room, and a milk house. We know that the barn often kept both a cow and chickens for the

family, though most of the time the family cow was found wandering Muncie instead of in its barn. Another map from 1902 shows a few changes to the property, primarily the rebuilding of the stable (figure 6-14).

Beyond the yard holding various farm animals, it also had gardens. The Neely family maintained both decorative gardens, containing flowers such as lilies and vegetable gardens, where they grew potatoes and other vegetables. The garden was also where Thomas would burn trash, something he described doing, which has become useful in understanding the burnt and melted material found at the other homes as well (March 9, 1887).

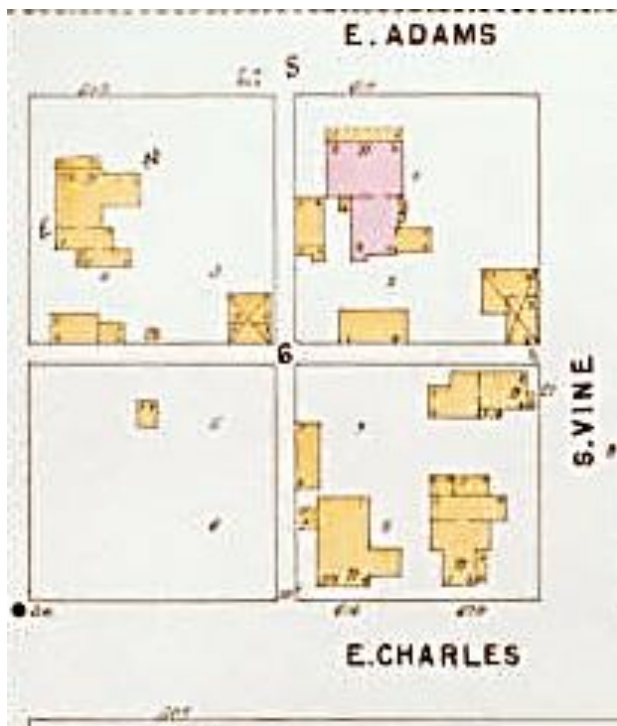


FIGURE 6-13: 1896 Sanborn map (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

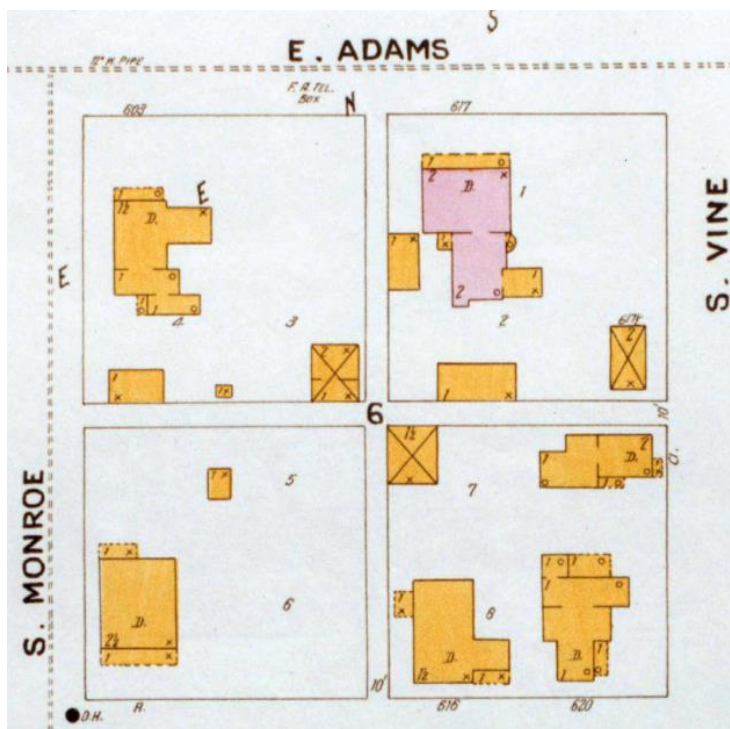


FIGURE 6-14: Sanborn map of Neely house lot in 1902 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

Moore-Youse House

The Moore-Youse house is on a corner lot, which makes it more visible than many other homes and in essence gives it two fronts, one on North Mulberry Street and one on East Washington Street, though little can be seen from Mulberry Street as the home spans most of the length of the lot (figure 6-15). Since the home is in a more central part of Muncie than the Neely home it is recorded in Sanborn maps beginning in 1883 (figure 6-16).

Both the side front yard and side back yard had two units attached to them. At this site the area that would have been more publicly viewable had a higher density of artifacts. There appear to be two different midden deposits in the landscape of the site. The first midden deposit was used from the 1830's to 1870's and was located outside of the side door of the home, accounting for the spike of material goods in publicly viewable areas (Groover 2009). This midden was no longer used once additions began to be made to the home and the side door became the main entrance of the house. This midden was actively disguised once disused and became the placement of flowerbeds (Groover 2009). The new midden was moved behind the home, close to the fence line, an area that would not be as easily seen from either street the house sat on. This movement of the midden into the backyard does follow a generalized timeline for when new Victorian landscape ideals would have begun to be considered and point to the family actively changing their landscape to better follow these newer ideals.

One aspect of the Moore yard that was unusual was the fact that they had animals in their yard, similarly to the Neely property. They used their backyard for some amount of domestic production. Through the many years of Sanborn maps available for the property, it can be seen that the landscape changed little, with only small adaptive changes made over the years, pointing

to the behavior of the family changing little over those years as well, despite the moving of the midden (figures 6-16; 6-17; 6-18; 6-19; 6-20).

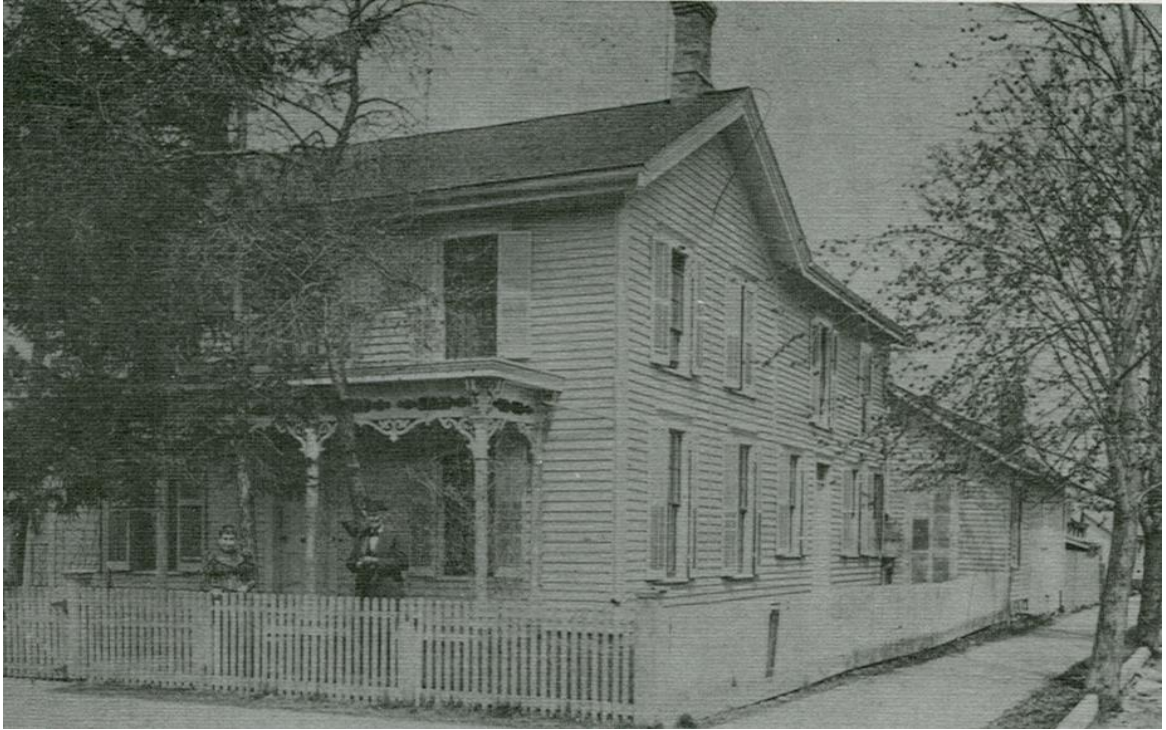


FIGURE 6-15: Mame and William Youse in front of home, view from corner of Washington and Mulberry (Blanch 2006)

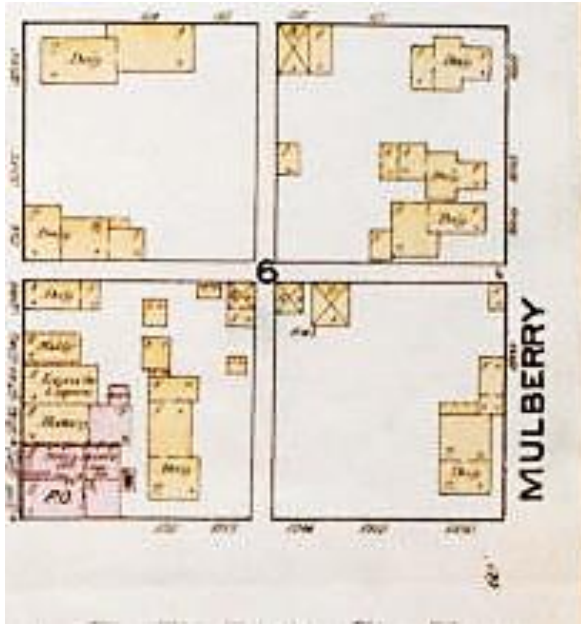


FIGURE 6-16: Moore-Youse lots in 1883 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)



FIGURE 6-17: Moore-Youse lots in 1887 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)



FIGURE 6-18: Moore-Youse lots in 1889 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)



FIGURE 6-19: Moore-Youse lots in 1892 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)



FIGURE 6-20: Moore-Youse lots in 1896 (courtesy of Ball State University Archives)

Bronnenberg House

Rural house landscapes are often different than urban, due to the amount of additional buildings needed in a rural setting, both the Bronnenberg and Huddleston houses conform to this idea, as each had barns, sheds, and additional utility buildings needed to run their farms and households in areas that did not have the same utilities that could be found in an urban setting.

The landscape of the Bronnenberg house is complicated by several factors. The first complication is an elevation change between the home and the springhouse. This leaves very little yard space in the back and even less once the summer kitchen is considered. In a circa 1930 picture the back of the house can be seen, including the summer kitchen (figure 6-21). This building took up a substantial portion of what would have been the back yard for the family. This lack of room is reflected the artifact density at the site, though continued work near the springhouse may yield midden activity in the future.

While no midden features have yet to be uncovered, work below the house at the spring house has yielded burnt ceramics and melted glass, indicative of the family burning trash, similarly to material found at the Moore-Youse house. This activity is further suggested as a possibility since Thomas Neely describes burning his own trash in the garden. Interestingly, there was also burnt material found in the front of the home, though by the 1890's this was no longer being practiced, as the home has a clean front yard. We can see in a photo dated to the 1890's that the house had a fence around it, which appears to separate it from some of the out buildings, such as the barn, and likely was an area of the home that the family kept clean and clear (figure 6-22).



FIGURE 6-21: Bronnenberg house c. 1930 (McCord 2006)



FIGURE 6-22: Bronnenberg House c. 1890's (Hicks 1981)

Huddleston House

The Huddleston house also has a unique landscape. Part of the home is built into a small hill, giving it the 'English Basement'. The two barns on the side of the house are on a lower elevation than the house, the yard slopes down considerably approximately one meter from the house, requiring a small set of steps to be inset in the hill side. On the opposite side of the house the yard does not slope as quickly, but there is a springhouse directly next to the kitchen. The elevation changes again in the rear of the home, sloping back down approximately thirty meters behind the house and gives the property a limited amount of usable yard space. Framing it in on three sides.

As was mentioned above, the 1977 data for the Huddleston house is missing, with no surviving inventory of what was recovered. A large portion of that field seasons data was directly behind the home in the back yard, which would have likely brought up the backyard artifact count by a significant amount. During those excavations however two elements of the landscape were discovered; post holes for a grape arbor behind the house were located and a barrel lined midden behind the home was found. In 2002 and 2007 more of the landscape was uncovered, the foot print of an outbuilding was found southwest of the house. These finds help to recreate what the landscape would have looked like during the nineteenth century at the Huddleston property.

All four of these properties described have a robust amount of evidence for what they looked like through the nineteenth century through documentary, archaeological, and oral history evidence. Some basic similarities between all the properties exist, each had some outbuildings, which would have been very common for the time when families used horse and carriages and outhouses. Both urban sites have less land and in turn less outbuildings on their property compared to the rural properties, which were part of large working farms.

Chapter 7 Interpretation and Discussion

Generalized differences between urban and rural life

Through all of the documentary analyses discussed throughout this study, several generalized differences begin to become apparent between the two groups of families that can be placed into the categories of social life, education, family life, and economic life.

Social life

A large part of social life throughout the Midwest was church. Muncie had many churches that often were giving concerts, festivals, and dinners, as are described in Thomas Neely's diary. These events were most often taken up by the women of that church and would have been a large part of their social lives.

Clara and Jennie were both a part of women's groups. Jennie socialized constantly, she was a member of the art club and a founding member of a women's club, as well as being involved in church. While we know substantially less about the social lives of either the Huddleston or Bronnenberg family, we do know about their church habits. While the Huddleston family began as Quakers the family that lived within the home did not participate in the Quaker faith, instead John and his family attended the United Brethren Church, thus giving them a social outlet (Wilmot 2005).

The Bronnenberg family was different, and appear to have not been a particularly religious family. Henry Bronnenberg, brother of Ransom, wrote that he:

don't know of one of the Bronnenbergs that is a doctor or a lawyer, or even a minister, or even hold to any church creed. They believe that mother earth owes them a living, by using

proper industry; in fact, the orthodox religion of this day is kept up through aristocracy, and their belief is founded and built up on superstitions. In fact, there is only one true religion; that is to do right (n.d.).

From this quote we can see that the family was proud of their farming background and not affiliated with any church, though in the last decade of the nineteenth century many members of the extended Bronnenberg family became involved with the spiritualist movement, which may have broadened the social circle of the family and the amount of guests visiting the family home.

Beyond each of the families more intimate social networks the Moore and Neely families were constantly interacting with many more people due to the positioning of neighbors and businesses in Muncie. It would be much more common to have quick visitors that would require a home to be ready at any time in Muncie than in either of the rural places the Huddleston and Bronnenberg families lived.

Education

The quote from Henry also shows that the family was educated and well spoken, no member of the family was illiterate. This was also true of the Huddleston family as several members were prolific writers, John even wrote some poetry. The differences in education came in higher education. Both Mame Moore and Jennie Neely were teachers, which required more education. Thomas often wrote of Jennie attending meetings at a teachers college and Mary would have likely also attended similar meetings during her time as a teacher. These urban women also had more free time than their rural counterparts and were able to take leisure classes with friends such as art classes or mythology classes.

Family life

An immediately apparent difference between the urban and rural families are the size of their families. John and Susannah Huddleston had twelve children total and the next generation to live in the home, Henry and Sarah, had ten children. The Bronnenberg family had slightly fewer children but still a substantial amount. Frederick Jr. and Huldah had seven children followed by Ransom and Sarah having six children.

The two urban families were much smaller. Thomas and Matilda had four children, and each of their children had between zero and 2 children. The Moore family followed similarly, Clara and Charles had two children and Mary had only one child. These differences were large spread between rural and urban families and part of a larger trend of a falling birth rate in the United States (Bailey and Hershbein 2005; Davis 1965). By 1840 urban women in the United States were having thirty-eight percent fewer children than rural women were having. This distinct difference in the amount of children women had continued throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century in the U.S. (Davis 1965: 44).

Economic Life

“Old things are cast aside to make room for modern ones”, these are the words of Thomas Neely in 1885, when Muncie was an economic hub in Indiana (May 26, 1885). This quote is an example of how the Neely family thought about the rapidly changing world they lived in. They were early adopters of new technologies, some of which were discussed above like telephones and indoor plumbing and others not mentioned, such as the carpet sweeper, which they acquired in 1883, soon after Bissell started selling them nationally (September 3, 1883: 54). Meanwhile the Bronnenberg and Huddleston families appear to have resisted these

changes more so, the Bronnenberg family did not have plumbing or electricity in the entirety of their lives in the home. Rural families are often seen to spend less money on domestic purchases, instead reinvesting their money into their farming business.

All of these generalized differences between the families point to different lived experiences that would impact the decision making of each. Social pressure were not felt as strongly by the Huddleston and Bronnenberg women as they would have been by the Neely and Moore women, thus dictating less of their decision making. Additionally the Neely and Moore women had more leisure time to concern themselves with decorating their homes and purchasing home goods, which were also much closer and easier to get in Muncie than rural Wayne or Madison counties.

Landscape Analysis

Presented below is a table of yard zones and the percentage of the total assemblage found in each zone for each site (table 7.1). The Huddleston site has no artifacts in the front side yard in table 7.1, this is due to the fact that part of the 1979 transects have insufficient data to place the artifacts within a zone and some of those artifacts likely would have been from the front side yard of the site.

Often working farms had no formal lawn with green grass and leisure space. Jane Adams describes farm yards as dirt spaces bare of grass that chickens roamed and women swept clean (1993:101). This would obviously be at odds with the Victorian expectation for a manicured yard space. If this were the case for either of the farms in this study, there would be a higher likelihood that artifacts would be evenly spread throughout the yard zones. However at both sites we see that the majority of artifacts were found in the back yard and back portion of the side yard. This is likely partially due to the areas that have been excavated. Both sites had little to no

excavation in their front yards and most of what was the Huddleston front yard is now underneath the widened National Road. However we can see in photos from both homes that the families kept what appears to be clean front yards, with fences around the homes, which could point not to a lack of evidence but a true absence of artifacts where excavation has been conducted in the front yard spaces. Overall the evidence of these two properties suggest that the lawns were kept clean and maintained for public view by the late nineteenth century, according to the Victorian landscape ideals of the time.

There would have been higher pressure in the urban spaces that the Neely house and Moore house inhabited to keep a neat and green yard, partially due to the proximity of neighbors and the need for all to keep up appearances. Both of these families also had short fences around their homes. The Moore site was evenly excavated across the side yard and back yard and the side yard held almost all of the artifacts (table 7-1). The front side yard held the most of any zone, differentiating it from the other two sites who held the majority of their assemblages in the back yard or back side yard. The high percentage of material in the front side yard is made up of 49 percent architectural material located in a midden. This was likely deposited during the many renovations on the property and were not something that was visible for a long period of time, only during a construction period, likely that of the second floor of the home based on the placement of the material, and was gone by the time the home was using the side entrance as a main entrance. Both of these yards clearly had work spaces in them, as all yards of the period would have, but both families appear to have kept the front of their homes and yards clean, with flower gardens, and potted plants, all of which was part of landscape ideals and the advice given to women by figures such as Katherine Beecher.

While the other two sites data is somewhat skewed by the placement of excavation, we can still see that much of the material at both sites was in more hidden areas of the properties. A large portion of the Bronnenberg assemblage was located down the hill behind the home, showing either a major erosion event from the above kitchen house destruction in 1930 or the family actively discarding material down the hill. Either scenario results in their front yard and side yard being rather clean and much closer to what would be expected of a Victorian landscape. Likewise the Huddleston site assemblage is largely found in the back side yard, an area that would have been difficult to see based on the steep hill leading up to it and the spring house next to the home. This site also fits into the pattern expected from a home during the Victorian period.

None of the sites had any substantial subtractive adjustments to their landscape, primarily over the life of each site as a family home, the landscape saw additive adjustments and substitutive adjustments. The Moore family removed one small outbuilding, but during the same period added to their stable. The Neely landscape primarily saw substitutive adjustments, turning a washhouse into a kitchen, and some additive adjustments. The Bronnenberg landscape continued to have additive adjustments though the generations, until the family no longer owned the property. The Huddleston landscape appears to have also seen primarily additive adjustments until the family no longer owned the home. This continued use of outbuildings through time points to a continuity in how the space was used through time. As can be seen in figures 7-1, 7-2, 7-3, and 7-4, the Moore property had the fewest outbuildings, with only three outbuildings at the most at any point. These four maps were created to best represent the layout and use of each property during the late nineteenth century. They are based upon period photos of the properties, oral history maps, archaeological maps, and current positions of extant buildings. In each map

the properties are divided in public and private space, based upon what could be seen from the road, as well as the positioning of doors and outbuildings that would affect where visitors would be on the properties.

When looking at these maps it can be seen that most out buildings were placed in areas of the property that would be considered more private. The two farms were likely less concerned about hiding these buildings, but the layouts of their properties still fell within what would generally be accepted during the period, with the most unsightly buildings being kept farthest from view, such as outhouses, smokehouses and wood sheds. In each property the barns and homes would have been the most visible features, all of which would have been painted and kept looking neat. Both families also kept fences around their homes, separated the houses from other farm buildings. These fences were part of a Victorian trend of short picket fences and were also present at both urban homes.

Zone	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
Front Yard	11.6%	1.1%	5.5%
Back Yard	2.3%	5.7%	80.8%
Side yard- Back	40.7%	93.2%	10.5%
Side yard- Front	45.4%	0	3.2%

TABLE 7-1: Zone percentages for each site (author 2020)

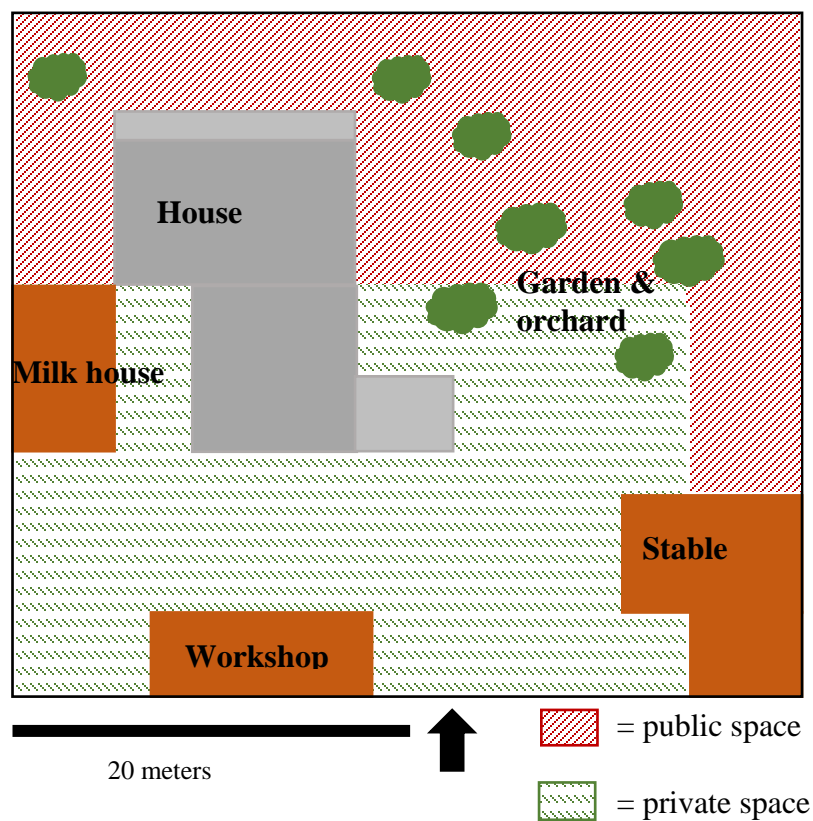


FIGURE 7-1: Neely property map (author 2020)

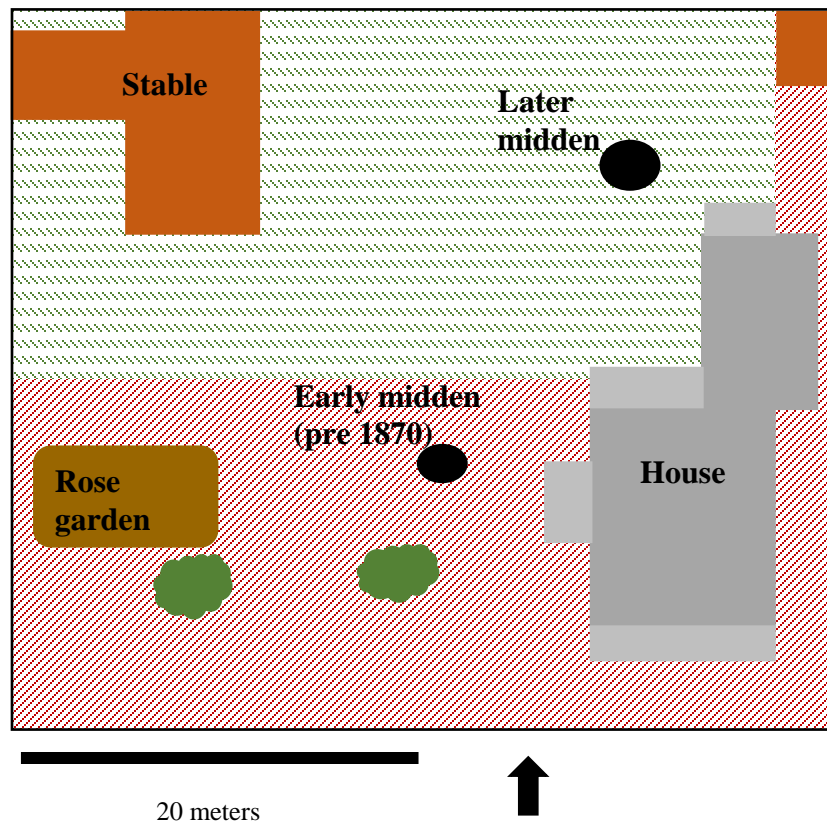


FIGURE 7-2: Moore-Youse property map (author 2020)

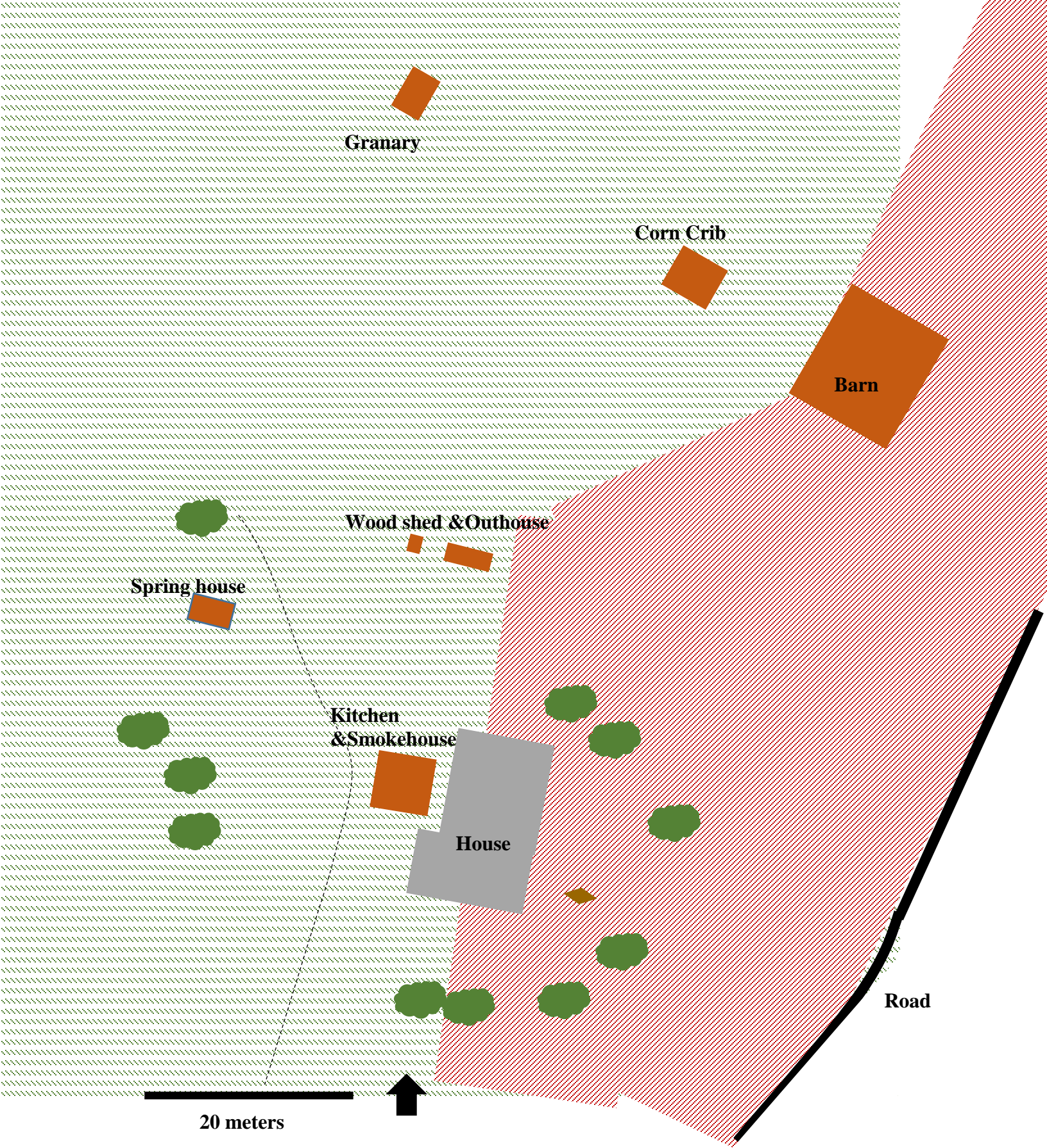


FIGURE7-3: Bronnenberg property map (author 2020)

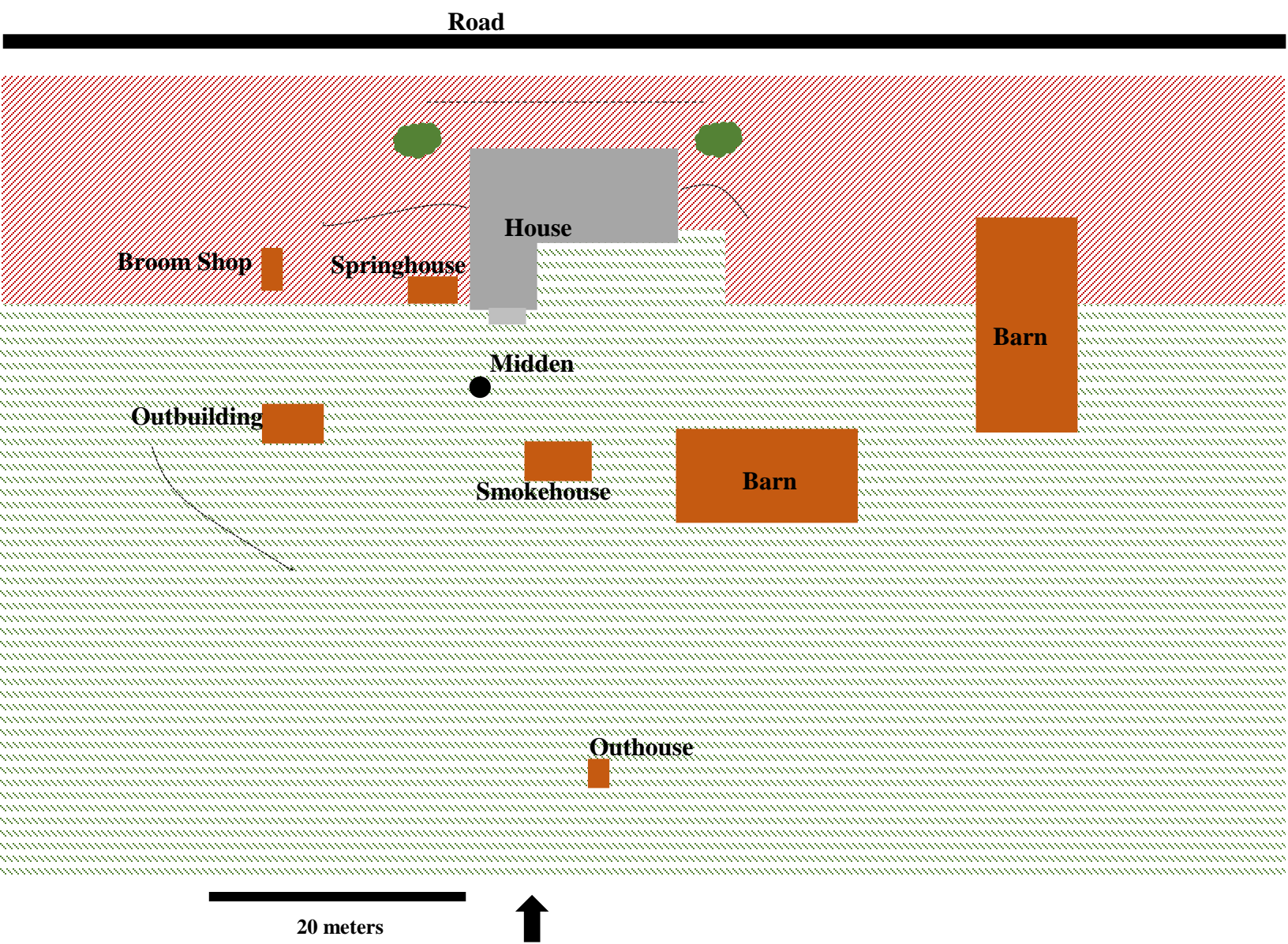


FIGURE 7-4: Huddleston property map (author 2020)

Urban Farming

Another consideration in exploring the landscapes of these sites is the fact that both urban families were participating in urban farming. Leslie Stewart-Abernathy coined the term ‘urban farmstead’ in the 1980’s while doing research in an Arkansas town where town lots adjacent to homes were structured similarly to rural farms (Stewart-Abernathy 1986: 5). He points out that even though these are urban places, many families still felt responsible to produce much of their own food. Muncie had several grocers, a son-in-law of Thomas and Matilda was even a grocer for many years, but they still produced milk, eggs, and produce for themselves whenever possible. The Moore family did much the same, raising chickens and pigs on their lots. However when examining the urban farms it must be considered that this use of double lots may have been extremely common in Muncie and other Midwest cities in the nineteenth century, a type of adaptation Midwestern’s made to how they followed Victorian space ideals. While not within the scope of this work, a study examining urban farming within Muncie could yield interesting results in understanding just how common, or uncommon, farming in city lots may have been during the mid to late nineteenth century.

Architectural Analysis

When looking at the four houses architectural changes through the years only one home did not undergo any renovations at all to the living space, the Huddleston house. This is partially due to the family building a very large home from the beginning that satisfied their need for space for generations. While some minor renovations were given to outbuildings, this was common among all four of the homes, as part of their adaptive use of the landscape over time. The second rural home, the Bronnenberg house, did undergo renovations that added several rooms to it, but even still the renovations were not for aesthetic purposes and kept the same

layout of the home throughout the years, only expanding as the size of the family expanded.

These lack of changes to either home point to neither family feeling any pressure to make their homes more 'Victorian' by adding decorative elements to the interior or exterior.

Alternatively, both the Neely and Moore homes underwent multiple renovations through the years that expanded their living space and changed the layouts of their homes several times to create larger homes that better fit into the Victorian ideal, neither family saw an increase in inhabitants to their homes at the times they chose to make additions and renovations. These renovations are additionally tied to increased economic prosperity, as the families had greater economic success they were able to display this success through their homes, without increased success economically many of the renovations and additions undergone would not have been possible. These families were less fiscally conservative than their rural counterparts, who would have invested money into their farm instead of into their homes.

Another aspect of the homes that presents a clear contrast between the rural and urban homes are porches. The Neely home had only a small portico until the 1880's, when they build a large veranda, which was used by the family for visiting. The Moore family also added porches through the years, one on three of the four sides of their home, which clearly show a Victorian flair in their cornices and were likely also used for visiting, especially the front porch which could be accessed directly from their parlor. Porches in Muncie began to be used for 'porch parties', which Jennie describes fairly regularly in the 1890's, meaning that porches became even more socially important as women began to hold these parties that showcased their hostess skills and economic status to any person who might pass by their home (September 17, 1897).

Neither of the rural homes exhibit this social need for porches. Nothing but concrete slabs were at the Bronnenberg home during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the

Huddleston house had no room for any type of porch on the front of it. The Huddleston home did have a porch on the back, but most back porches served primarily functional purposes, to aid in chores and daily tasks. Part of this difference would have been that the sociality of porches in urban areas were nonexistent in rural areas, homes were spread out and few people would find themselves taking a stroll down a country road to look at neighbors. Because this showcasing was nonexistent in rural areas it would negate the need for a front porch at all.

An area of the home that is not as clear in its use is the parlor. Two homes had both a sitting room and parlor, the Neely and Huddleston homes, while the Bronnenberg home may have had both, or had a sitting room and an office. Only the Moore home had a single parlor. The urban homes fall within what was common, having either only the formal parlor or both a parlor and sitting room, but the rural homes are more complicated, as there is evidence that rural families typically did not have parlors, McMurray describes the general distaste for and disuse of parlors, even when the home had them, by rural families (1988). Both the Huddleston and Bronnenberg families built their homes early, when parlors had not yet fallen completely out of favor in rural communities. It may be the case that neither family used the more formal spaces, while the Moore and Neely families both regularly used their formal spaces for visiting and holding events, things that rural families would have had less time to do in general.

Across all architectural categories it is clear that the Bronnenberg and Huddleston families were not often considering the social use of their homes, while the Neely and Moore families view their homes as major socialization sites. This affected many decisions each family made about their homes and the changes, or lack of changes, they made to them over time.

Material Culture Analysis

Total assemblages

There are obvious potential issues in the analysis and interpretation of this set of material culture data and there will always be problems when attempting to synthesize data collected over decades, by different individuals, using different methodologies with different goals. This analysis is an example of that. Each site was excavated using slightly different methodologies that effected how units were excavated and where they were placed. This in turn had the ability to skew the data when examining the landscape and artifact densities. The Moore-Youse site had only one field season of excavation, perhaps with years of work, similar to the other two sites, the Moore-Youse site would have substantially more data than it currently does. Likewise a whole season of data from the Huddleston site is missing which also skewed the data as part of that data was directly from the back yard, the only data excavated from that area.

Some of the material used in this study may have been deposited after the Victorian age had ended, but the majority of activity which would have resulted in this material being deposited would have been during or soon after the Victorian period, as garbage began to be sent away and newer sanitation practices began to be employed. The only clearly identifiable material as being beyond the concern of this study was that recovered from the Bronnenberg springhouse and included a large number of glass that dated post-1950.

Each of these families were discarding material at a relatively high rate. While a higher rate may have been expected at urban sites, here we see the highest rates in both rural sites, both higher than the Moore-Youse rate. However there is a difference in what these families were discarding, which is important to understanding the overall density of artifacts present at each site. In figure 7-5 the assemblage of each site can be generally compared. More than half of the

assemblages of the two rural sites were comprised of architectural artifacts, including nails, bricks, mortar, and plaster. The Moore assemblage had substantially less architectural material, but still over 36 percent. The Moore-Youse site did have a much higher level of activities material than either of the rural sites, mainly comprising of coal, charcoal and miscellaneous metal. When the non-household material is removed from the analysis (figure 7-6) the Moore assemblage still stands out due to its high rate in the furniture category. This category was almost entirely comprised of flower pot fragments, often associated with the Cult of Domesticity. Flower pots found in other Victorian sites have been interpreted as women following the advice of those such as Beecher and using potted plants as symbolism of domesticity in the home (Fitts 1991: 48-49). The lack of these pots at either of the other homes does indicate a difference in what the women were choosing to consume, one that matches with the porches and architecture of the homes.

When examining the discard rate at each site it can be seen that none of the ceramic data points to frequent replacement of wares or styles, meaning that once the women purchased ceramics, they made them last. The high discard rates observed for the entire assemblages was done in areas other than ceramics and were primarily in architectural goods, such as nails, and other kitchen related goods, such as glass. Architectural materials, like nails, were not expensive and easily lost in the yard. Additionally architectural material was within the domain of the men of the homes, who would have been working on buildings on the sites. This does show a small dichotomy in the discard behaviors of men and women at each site, women, who were in charge of domestic goods, discarded less material than the men of each household and making their purchases last longer and therefore their household choices more impactful.

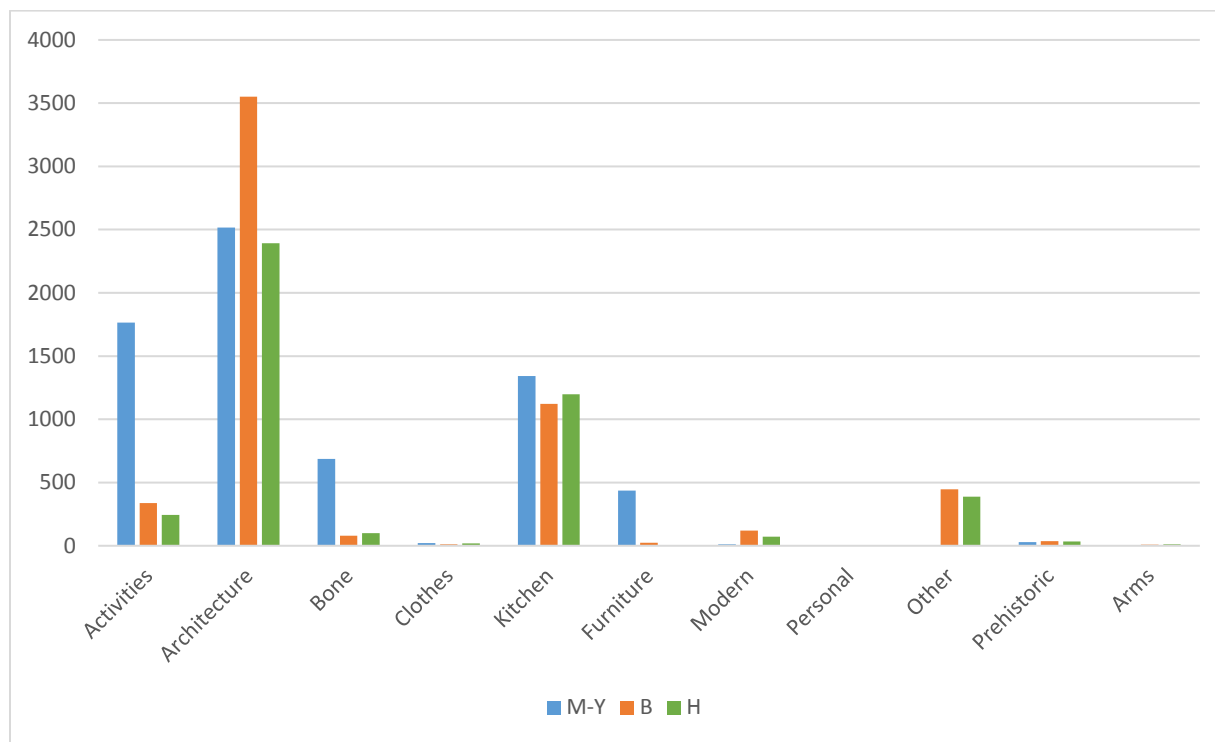


FIGURE 7-5: Assemblage comparison (author 2020)

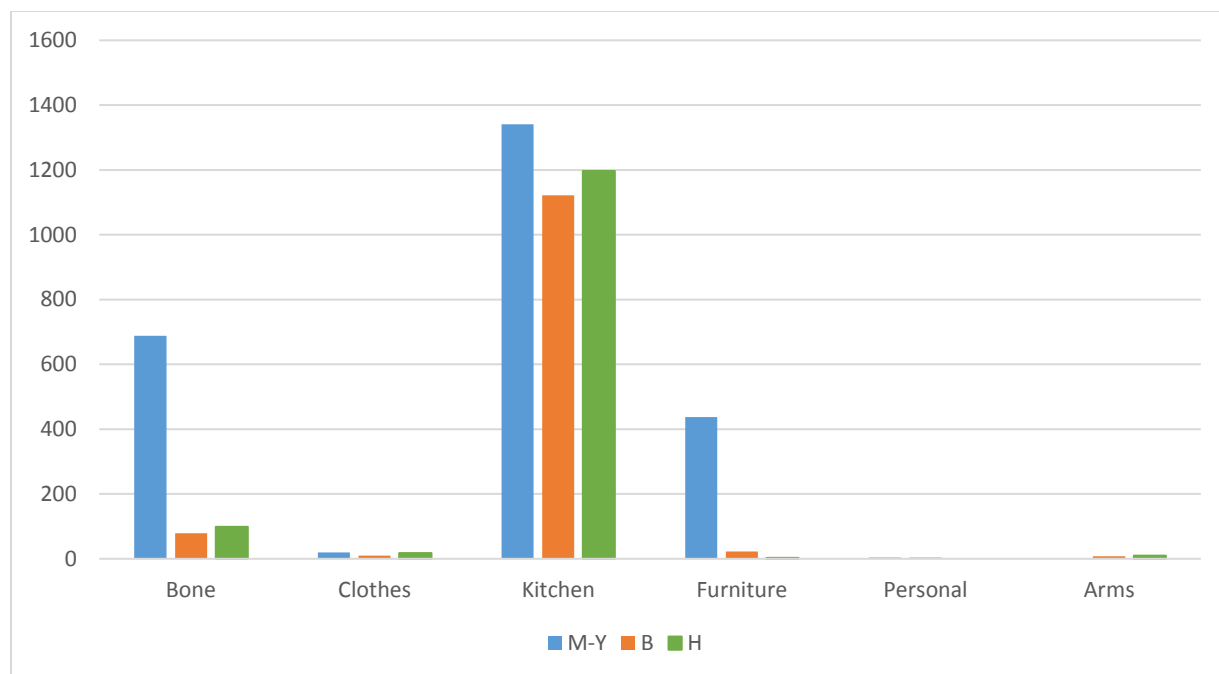


FIGURE 7-6: Household category assemblages (author 2020)

Ceramic assemblages

I stated earlier, in chapter 6, that ceramics can be used to date deposits but a caution all archaeologists must take when interpreting the ceramic data from a site is the impact of heirloom ceramics on data. A family may have kept a set of tableware over several generations, and indeed this is evident in the Moore-Youse family. Currently a set of French gilded porcelain manufactured by Haviland & Company between 1879 and 1889, as identified by the makers mark, is still placed prominently in the dining room of the home alongside a set of silver. This tableware was kept in the house through each generation, but fragments of this ceramic were also found during excavation. This highlights how heirloom ceramics can be deposited in the archaeological record and skew dating as it may have been deposited over a multi-generational period and cannot be relied upon.

These heirloom ceramics can also lend to a discussion about the increased ritualization of meals that the families may have taken part in. None of these households gave evidence of matching tableware in the archaeological record, something that archaeologists often look for in household assemblages and rarely find. There is obviously evidence at the Moore-Youse house that they did have a single matching set, but in the house is also evidence of the family buying pieces as they needed them. An entire cupboard sits filled with mismatched ceramics acquired through time, likely used for daily use while the single matching set was reserved for formal use. Likewise the probate record of Jennie Neely points to a similar situation, a porcelain set reserved for certain uses, with other less expensive and likely mismatched dishes used daily.

When examining the ceramic assemblage of each site, it's important to remember that many of these wares and decorations were popular at the same time in the mid to late nineteenth

century and only price and personal preference would have been variable and the primary reason for differences in styles at any given site, a decision that would have been primarily made by the women of each family. All three households relied primarily on undecorated ceramics, a much cheaper option. When the families did purchase decorated ceramics, the Moore women were purchasing more expensive decoration types than the women of other two families. When examining the decoration types using Amy Earl et al.'s tiered ceramic table, the differences in purchasing decisions becomes clearer (1993). In this table tier one is the plain ceramics, the most inexpensive, tier 2 is edge decorated, mocha, and molded ceramics, tier 3 is hand painted, and tier 4 is transfer printed ceramics (table 7-2). This table aids in economic scaling of ceramics, a modified version of Miller's own economic scaling (1980, 1991). With this table we can see that the women of the Moore family spent more when purchasing their decorated ceramics than the women of the Huddleston or Bronnenberg families did. The Huddleston women were the least interested in spending on ceramics and the Bronnenberg women did spend on some higher priced ceramics, though still less than the Moore women did. The ceramic data shows that the women of each family were making individual choices about the types of ceramics they purchased, each site differing in décor and ware (Figure 7-6; 7-7). The Moore women were spending the most, with greater pressure to do so in their urban space than the Huddleston or Bronnenberg women would have had, with fewer rigorous cultural rules and less public eyes inside their home. While Victorian ideals did not necessarily dictate the type of ceramics that should be bought, one of the characteristics of Victorian culture was to appear upper-middle class or upper-class and by buying a more expensive ceramic this was more so portrayed when hosting guests. The Moore women appear to have kept this in mind the most, purchasing a variety of more expensive ceramics. Likewise the Bronnenberg's peak of ceramics in tier three may have been an attempt to

buy a slightly more expensive ceramic and show some upward mobility to guests while still being fiscally conservative.

Ceramic tier	Moore-Youse	Huddleston	Bronnenberg
Tier 1	72%	84%	70%
Tier 2	2%	8%	9%
Tier 3	14%	3%	14%
Tier 4	12%	5%	7%

TABLE 7-2: Economic scaling of ceramics (author 2020)

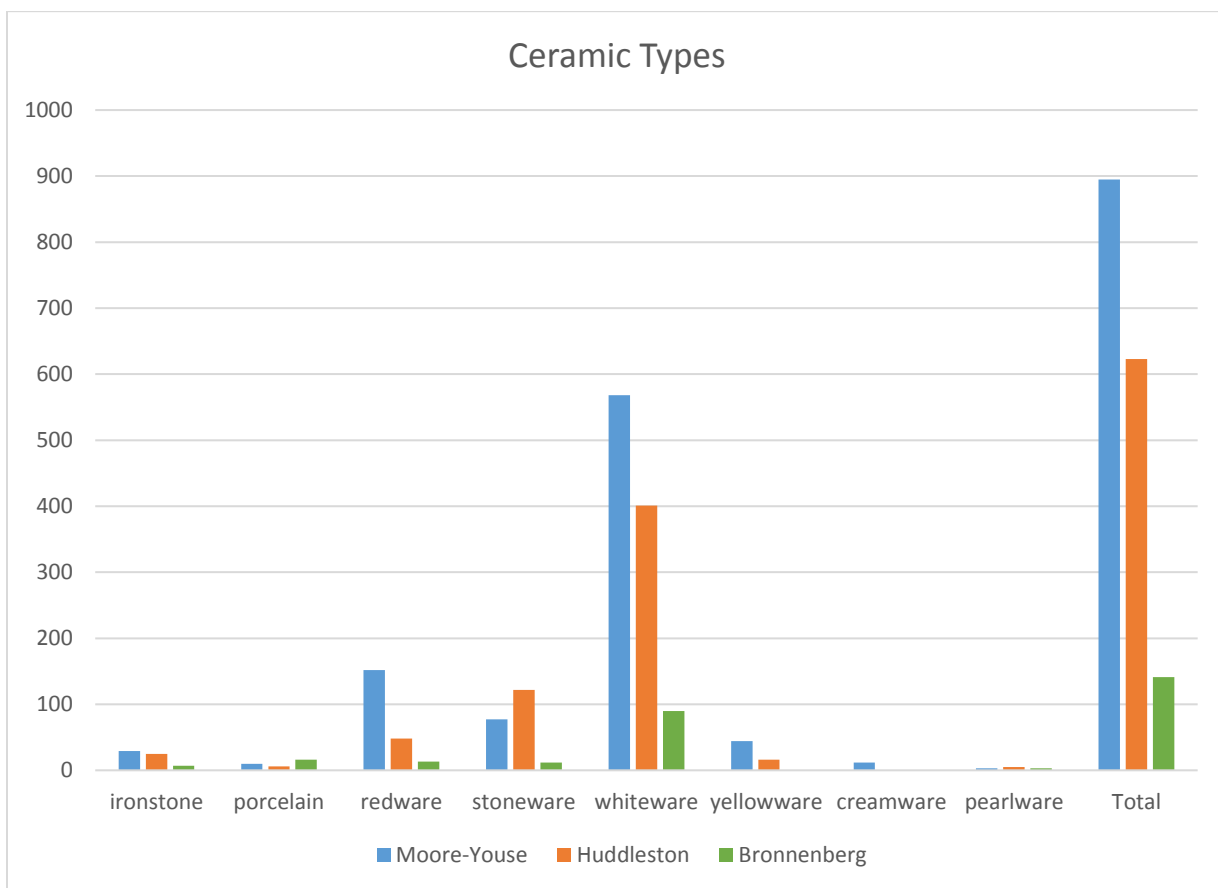


FIGURE 7-7: Comparison of site ceramic types (author 2020)

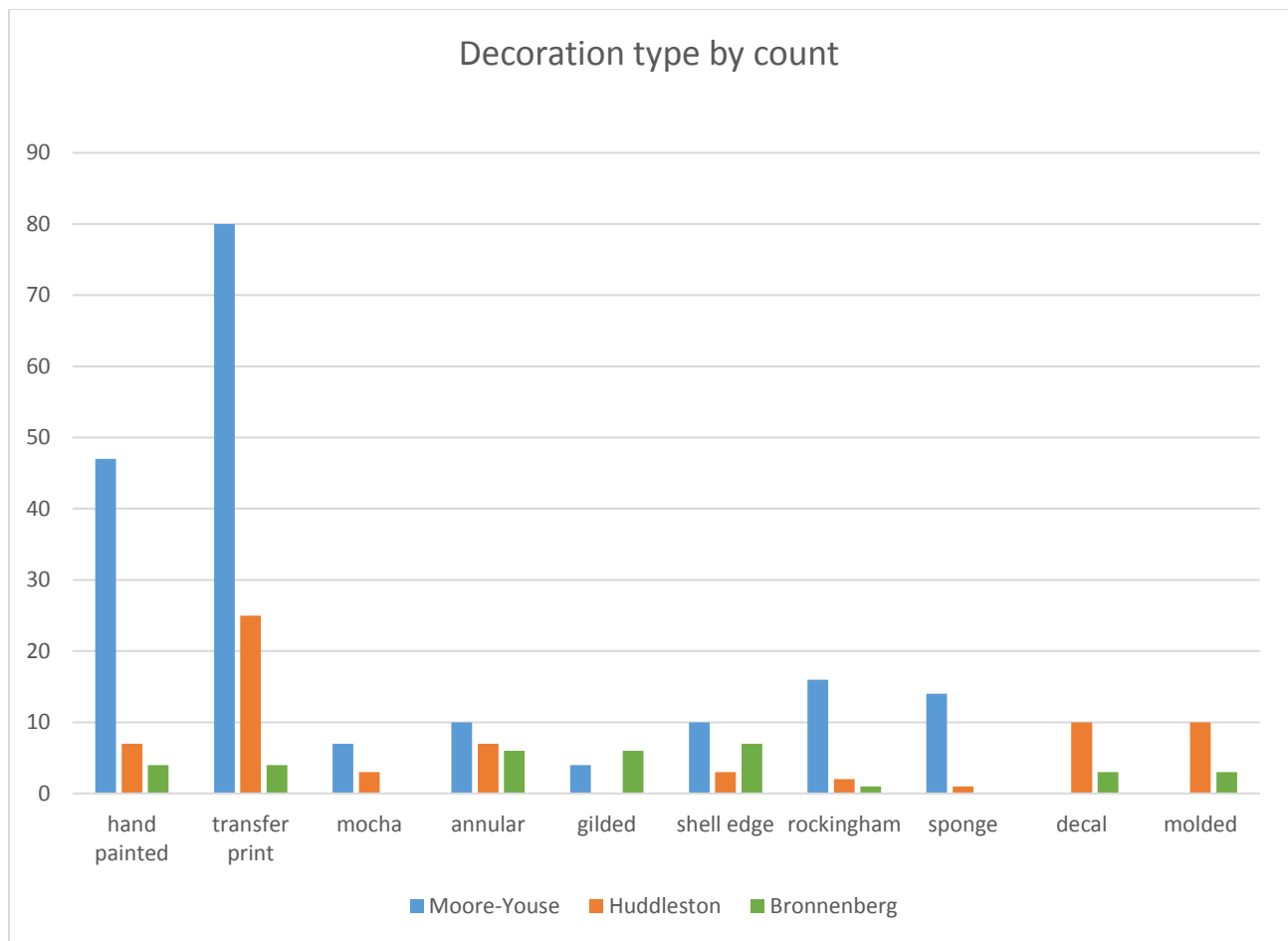


FIGURE 7-8: Site comparison of decoration type (author 2020)

Chapter 8 Concluding Thoughts on a Rural Urban Cultural Dichotomy

“Scratch a Midwesterner, and you find a farmer. Either he lives on a farm or in a farming village or in a city that was a farming village only yesterday.”

—Rollin L. Hartt, 1916

This quote by Hartt encapsulates how the Midwest developed through the nineteenth century. Muncie was a small town in the beginning of the century and by the end had developed into a bustling mid-sized city. This was true of many cities across the Midwest and the fact that they were farm towns within living memories distance effected how each urban individual utilized the burgeoning Victorian culture. As was discussed in the beginning of this study, Victorian culture was associated with the upper- middle class of the east coast cities and for Midwestern urban citizens to emulate the culture of New York City and Boston through consumerism, architecture, and landscape, they could remove themselves further from their rural farming roots as their cities grew.

This idea of embracing Victorian ideology can be seen in both the Neely and Moore households. Each family was quick to renovate their homes through the 1870's and 1880's to stay up to date with trends, as well as keep up with the new construction that brought Queen Anne and Italianate homes to Muncie during the period. The interior of each home was also kept up to date, ready for neighbors and friends to visit. It is clear that the women of each family were embracing Victorian trends and ideals, keeping flower gardens and potted plants that reflected their belief in the cult of domesticity. Each home kept a parlor and dining room with updated

furniture, ready for callers and dinner parties. The women of each family were hosting gatherings, putting their homes on show frequently, keeping themselves based in the tenets of Victorian culture, morality and sociality. Feminist theory in this study has strengthened the ability to discern the roles of both women and men in these households. We can see that cultural and ideological adherence and decision making was squarely within the women's sphere as these parts of Victorianism were centered in the home.

While the women of these urban families kept up with the trends and expectations of Victorianism, remnants of their rural roots were just below the surface. Both families practiced urban farming, and while Clara and Mary Moore had fashionable china, they still preferred the simple and economical redware for daily use. And this is where we begin to see how Victorianism was truly adopted in the Midwest, unevenly, even within a single home. The practicalities of their rural roots often outweighed their attempt to adopt the typical Victorian ideology and culture completely. While the women in these families did consume at a high rate, they were still using urban farming to keep eggs and milk in their homes, and using orchards and gardens to fill pantries as opposed to going to a grocer for all their needs. These urban farmsteads are the primary element of the Neely and Moore sites that give an outward semblance of not participating fully in a Victorian lifestyle. However, this may have well been what a full Victorian lifestyle looked in East Central Indiana, as part of Victorian culture was maintaining a higher purpose in life and in this region part of that higher purpose was staying at least partially self-reliant. This aspect of life could be a regional adaptation of Victorian culture and then each of these families would be fully Victorian in the eyes of their neighbors and city.

Whether the urban farming was a regional adaptation or not, this Midwest urban Victorianism was still closer to ideal than that practiced in rural areas. The Bronnenberg and

Huddleston families were much more economically conservative, preferring to put their money back into their farms than into their homes and goods. This comes as no surprise, and is a common feature of farm families, both of these families were equally as successful, if not more successful at times than the Moore and Neely families, but their homes remained understated. While the women in each rural family were equally participating in the modern world-system they were now a part of, the women of these families preferred to choose cheaper ceramics, and simpler furniture. Neither home interior nor exterior reflected the excess and opulence that the Victorian era was known for. They kept the walls and woodwork within their homes simple, reflecting what they would likely have viewed as a more moral living than what their urban counterparts maintained. While the Huddleston home and potentially the Bronnenberg home had parlors, there is little evidence that they were used, unlike both the Moore and Neely parlors, which are known to have been used for social occasions. Likely the Huddleston and Bronnenberg families had much fewer occasions to consider the use of a parlor, as McMurray points out those that visited rural friends or relatives were often staying for longer periods of time and would have aided in daily life on the farm, with no need to use formal spaces, except for an occasion such as a wedding (1988). These families did adopt some elements of Victorian ideology however, both families kept short fences around their homes and clean yards that could be seen from the street, something, at least in the case of the Bronnenberg home, that had not always been practiced. The Bronnenberg women also made ceramic decisions that reflected an understanding of Victorian ideals, while also staying fiscally responsible. It is clear that they were fully aware of the new trends and culture of the period in urban spaces, but did not see fit to adopt all of the practices of modern Victorianism. These were all active choices made primarily

by these women, choosing how to interact with the new culture and ideology that had begun to spread rapidly.

Between these four families we can see that the Midwest has created a baseline of a rural identity in its white middle-class inhabitants. This has created a regional interpretation of Victorian culture that allows middle class white women in the Midwest to both be domestic consumers and domestic producers whether inhabiting rural or urban spaces. Outwardly urban families kept a fairly average façade of Victorianism and did adopt most of its elements into their lives. Rural families cared less for the intricacies of Victorianism and continued on with much of the same way of life as they had previously to the Victorian trends, making individual choices resulting in small adaptations to bring some of the new culture into their lives.

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